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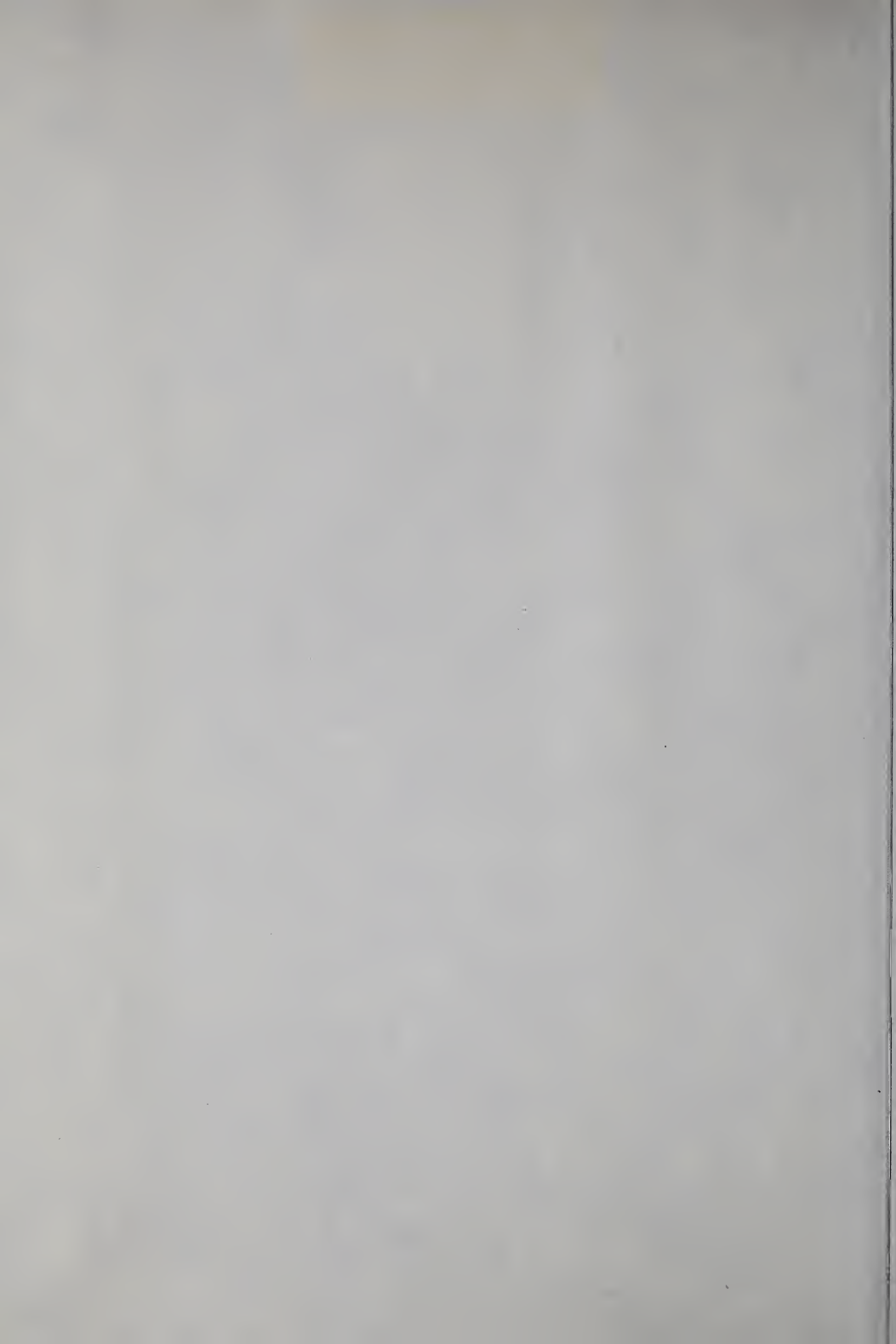
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THE JOURNAL
OF THE
FRIENDS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

EDITED BY
NORMAN PENNEY, F.S.A., F.R.Hist.S.

VOLUME XIV
1917

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THE JOURNAL

OF THE

FRIENDS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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Hew Wood, Gardener to the Duke of Hamilton

AMONGST the members of the Society of Friends dwelling in the West of Scotland during the latter part of the seventeenth century, Hew Wood seems worthy of special notice.¹ He was for many years the leading Friend at Hamilton, the Meeting there being held at his house. A much esteemed Minister in the Society, he was also a prolific writer, though few of his epistles and treatises have appeared in print.

He appears to have joined Friends shortly before 1669, when his name occurs in the list of members of Glasfoord Meeting. The baptisms of several of his children between 1663 and 1666 are recorded in the records of Hamilton parish; on the 25th of December, 1664, he was one of the "witnesses" to a baptism in the parish Kirk. The name of his youngest son, born in 1669, does not appear in the parochial registers, but is duly recorded in the books of Hamilton Meeting. Hew Wood's wife, Agnes Black, would seem never to have joined the Society: she died probably in 1670.

Like a good many other early Friends, Hew Wood followed the calling of a gardener, and as such he generally figures in the Meeting records; but as we learn from that

¹ In the parish registry of baptisms his name is spelt *Huch Woode*, whilst in the Meeting books the first name is written indifferently, *Heugh*, *Hugh* or *Hew*; but where his autograph signature appears it is invariably *Hew Wood*.

quaint book, *The Scots Gard'ner*, the author of which was probably a Friend, at one time resident in Hamilton, he had a flourishing nursery business. John Reid, the author,² when he is discoursing of "aples to make cyder," says, "In France they extol the rennet cyder, in England the Hereford-redstrake (which in France they set at nought); they speak of genetmoil and musts, some pipens and parmainis; and for perry, the Bromsbury and ruddy horse-pear, all which and many more Hugh Wood gard'ner at Hamiltone has to sel."³ Towards the close of his life he is described as gardener to the Duke of Hamilton; perhaps he combined the duties of that position with his nursery business.

Early in 1670, Hew Wood was one of twenty Friends attending the Yearly Meeting at Edinburgh, who were arrested and imprisoned for a short time by order of the King's Council, on the information of "some malicious persons y^t there was a great meeting of the qwakers which they suposed to be of dangerous consequence there being the heads of them as they Caled them gathered together."

In the following year Hew Wood married again, a Friend, Grisell Richardson by name. The minutes of Edinburgh Monthly Meeting, in Ninth Month, 1671, record:

Notice being given from the monthly meeting at hamiltowne of the purpose of Marriage betwixt hew wood and Grissell Richeson and also by the s^d hew & grissell wnder their hands, freinds leaves it to them to proceed to the conswmatone thereof according to the order and methode of trwth and freinds.

Accordingly, the Quarterly Meeting having also given its consent, the marriage took place at Drumbuy on the 6th of Ninth Month. A short time previously Hew Wood had set aside a sum of money for the benefit of his four sons. The deed, recorded amongst the minutes of Hamilton Meeting, is as follows:

² THE JOURNAL, viii. 50. John Reid was born at Niddrie castle, near Edinburgh. His autograph is appended to marriage certificates at Edinburgh, 1682-3; but after the latter date he is not mentioned in the Meeting minutes. He afterwards became gardener to Sir George M'Kenzie, of Rosehaugh, Ross and Cromarty.

³ *The Scots Gard'ner*, p. 171, ed. 1907. The book was originally published at Edinburgh, in 1683.

The Journal xiv. i

THE Editor greets his readers at the beginning of the fourteenth volume and informs them that there is still abundance of useful material awaiting publication.

He is glad to report that the adverse financial balance has been cleared by the kindness of members and others.

He thinks that the advice to home Ministers when in the presence of visiting Ministers is worthy of notice (p. 5).

He calls the attention of American readers to the insight into conditions in the Middle West one hundred years ago, afforded by pp. 15 to 25, especially p. 25, and in the East a century before then (pp. 31, 32).

He ventures to suggest that the pages dealing with current literature are more worth perusal than some may suppose (pp. 35ff).

He feels sure that the two letters from David Livingstone will be read with interest at the present time (pp. 26 to 28).

He is impressed with the strength of mind exhibited by Ann Whitall (pp. 29 and 30), and the mental ability of Thomas Pim Cope (p. 24) and William J. Palmer (p. 48).

Devonshire House, Bishopsgate, London, E.C.

At the Monthly Meeting holden at Hamiltone upon sixth of eighth month 1671 J Hew Wood gardiner in Hamiltone being present be the tennour herof signifies and declares, That in regarde of the fatherly care and affectione that J have and beares to my childreine, James, Williame and Robert and Alexander Woods and in regard of discharging my dwetie to them, J (be thes presents) ordeans and settis apairt the sowme of eight hundred merks Scots money,⁴ eqwally to be divided amongst them, as being the fwl and compleat pairt and portione dew and belonging to them by vertewe of their mothers decease and Legacie.

Jn witnes herof and in condescentione herto J have swbscribed thes presents with my hand, day moneth, yeare and place aforesaid before thes witneses Alexander hamiltone in drumbwy Andrew browne in west maines and John hart in heids writter herof.

The autograph signatures duly follow.

From this date Hew Wood is often mentioned in both Monthly and Quarterly Meeting records, as treasurer, representative, witness to marriages, keeper of the "rights" of Gartshore burial ground, etc., etc. His very neat, precise but somewhat cramped handwriting, with his careful punctuation, and his signature with a little self-conscious flourish at the end, are of frequent occurrence in the Meeting books.

In 1691, Hew Wood was one of three Friends appointed by Hamilton Monthly Meeting "to keep correspondence w^t freinds at London anent the affaires of truth." It was not until 1696, however, that the minutes of the Monthly Meeting were generally penned by him. He seems to have continued to act as clerk until the year of his death.

In 1684, Hew Wood published a little book of some forty-eight pages "Printed and Sold by Andrew Sowle" London, and entitled *A Brief Treatise of Religious Womens Meetings . . . Also something concerning Womens Prophecyng and Teaching, &c*;⁵ and ten years later he again appeared in print in conjunction with

⁴ Equal to about £44 5 0.

⁵ Copy in D. It forms a recital of Biblical instances of the public service of women, and ends: "And now you may see, that the Promise is to Daughters as well as to Sons, to Hand-maidens as well as to Men-servants; and that the one shall prophesie as truly as the other. Hugh Wood."

It obtained the approval of the Morning Meeting in London on the 20th of Sixth Month, 1683: "Hugh Woods treatise of women's meetings read by G.W^d. [George Whitehead] & to be corrected by him. And is left to him and G.f. & James Parks, whether to print it or not."—Ed.

Patrick Livingstone—*Some things Writ Concerning Forms*.⁶ In regard to this work Edinburgh Yearly Meeting decided "that three hundred [copies] shall be sent to the west and on hundred to the north and on for this meeting and Kelso."

The due apportioning of Friends' books had early engaged the attention of the Quarterly Meeting at Edinburgh. In Ninth Month, 1674, it had been

Condescended upon by friends of this meeting That what friends Bookes Comes from London shall be thus dispersed Tow for Edenbrouh: for which dauid falconar and Jeames Broune undertackes Two for the South for which Walter Scot & Charles Ormestone undertackes . . . for the West for which Hew Wood & Allx^r Hameltoune vndertackes. And the other sax is to be taiken by the freinds of Aberdine for which they have ordered dauid Falconar to answer And forasmuch as friends in this natione have Undertaiken to tacke of 400 Copies of all bookes sent up to London to be prented for the service of truth heer The Friends in and about Aberdine hes given order to receave 200 for them The friends at Edenbrough taikes 150; and orders Jeames Broune to Answar them. The friends of the South tackes 25 and orders Charles Ormestone to answere them The friends of the west is to tacke 25 and orders Hew Wood [to answer for them].

In the following year Hamilton Monthly Meeting arranged further

that whatsoever bookes are given forth by jnglish freinds and are printed in england that one of everie sort shall come to the west of the which bookes Freinds att Garshore are to receave the third pairt and freinds att dowglase the fiteinth pairt and freinds att hamiltone and glasfoord the rest of the books.

Whether any of Hew Wood's writings were printed except the two already mentioned, I know not,⁷ but from time to time mention is made in the Meeting minutes of "good and savoury papers" of his which had been read to the satisfaction of Friends. He was specially concerned to testify "against the superfluity of young men and womens apparell," also "against the vanitie of perriwiggs and the unlawfullnes of them being made of

⁶ Pamphlet in D. It occupies seventy small octavo pages; Livingstone's foreword "To Friends in the Kingdom of Scotland or else where" &c. runs to page 25.—Ed.

⁷ No more than the two above-noted are known in D. There is no evidence that the paper of Thomas Hicks, "ane English Friend" (THE JOURNAL, viii.), was printed. It is in manuscript among Miller Family Papers. See next note.—Ed.

womens Hair."⁸ Two of the original documents have come down to us. One is entitled "A love letter to the tender hearted people in Glasgow." The epistle commences :

Awake, awake, Arise in power, O thow seed of God, shake thy self from the Dust of the earth. Arise, arise, and sanctify thy chossen vessels in glasgow, that they may be uncloathed from their filthy raggs of self Righteousnes and self workings, and may be Cloathed wpon with the Beautifull garment of Christs Righeousnes.

Another of his writings, given forth in 1698, is entitled "Ane humble advice given to Friends how to behave when the travailling Ambassadors of our King and lord Jesus Christ comes into our Meetings." After pleading that "these travailling messengers and servants of the living God (who some of them has travailed some hundreds of miles)" should not be disturbed when they "sit down with us in true silence, that so they may feell in what state and condituion All of us, or some of us are in," he proceeds :

Can, or doe any of yow think it seemly, or according to wisdom, discretion, or good manners to step in and trouble their silent waiting with your words, be it either in prayer or declaration ? (J mean yow who are dailey in our meetings, or dwell near, and may come at another time, and ease yow of your true burthen, if you have any from the Lord) As for example, if a earthly king were sending forth his Ambassadors to declare and signify his mind and will to his people ; and they being gathered together to hear their kings will and mind declared to them, by these his servants ; were it not unseemly and a piece of Arrogancy for some one, two or three of the people to whom they were sent, to stand up and disturb those Messengers and as it were stop their mouths, pretending they knew the kings mind and will already.

In 1679, Hew Wood with many other Friends was a sufferer at the hands of the Covenanters. At a Monthly Meeting held at Hamilton "on the last sixt Day" of the Seventh Month of that year "Jt was ordered that thes sufferings which have been inflicted wpon freinds of truth by the seditiowse in their late rebellione against Authoritie be recorded in our register." Accordingly on the succeed-

⁸ Thus in a postscript by Hew Wood to an Epistle addressed to Friends at Aberdeen by Thomas Hicks, the former exhorts his readers to "be made conformable to the image of Christ Jesus, whose coat was without seam; hee, nor his apostles was neither the tailors fool, nor the utlandish merchants pray, neither was there heads adorned with the periwig-makers livery." (See THE JOURNAL, viii.)

ing page of the minute book there is a careful summary of the outrages committed by the Covenanters on Friends. It is penned by John Hart, the clerk, who, besides chronicling births, deaths and marriages, and the proceedings of the Monthly Meeting, was wont from time to time to make pithy comments on the course of public events.

In the yeare 1679 wpon the first day of the fowrth moneth, the titular presbiterians in the West Sowth and severall other places of Scotland being of a long tyme seditiously inclined did breake owt in open rebellione against the present awthoritie by opposung and asawltng ther forces. And likwyse in the tyme of their rebellione they searched and robbed severall freinds houses and violently tooke away some of there goods as in the particulars after mentioned doeth appeare.

Hew Wood's experiences are thus described :

Dwreing their abode and residence at and abowt Hamiltone some of them threatened Hew Wood and his family many tymes w^t distructione and offered violence to his persone And made a prey of his house eating drinking and wasting his goods at their pleasure searching and spoiling his house wnder the pretence of seeking armes And tooke what they fownd fitt for them, to wit sadls, bridls boots hatts spwrns &c^t.

(John Shaw, a neighbour of his, besides having his house broken into, was made a prisoner, his captors threatening "that they showld make him eat his own flesh, and goe many a weary foot" !)

In 1688, Hew Wood and other Friends again fell into the hands of the Covenanters. John Corstorphin, another chronicler of the "Sufferings of freinds of trwth," relates :

Upon y^e 23 of y^e same m: [Tenth Month] a rable of armed people w^t on[e] William dalzel of ridmire y^r Captain came to y^e house of Hugh Wood in Hamilton where friends were at a meeting & by force & violence broke up y^e meeting and pulled & draged sea^vl women through the floor and so down stairs & particularly Jenet Simpson relict of W^m Mitchel in douglas and tosed her from place to place till some compasionat women recovered her out of their hands she died about a month after. And then they tooke away friends books but being reproved by some people of the toun brought some of them backe againe. Upon y^e fift day of y^e week ther after after friends meeting was broke up a partie of those caled y^e mountain regiment came & tooke away y^e books which had been formerly brought backe which they never restored again and tooke all men friends to prison but y^e people of y^e toun being unsatisfied to see their peacable neighbours so abused were ready to rise against them for friends help so y^t within few hours they let them out of prison.

Early in 1692, Hew Wood accompanied Thomas Story and John Bowstead⁹ on a religious visit to the little company of Friends at Glasgow, and on First-day morning they attended the meeting there. Thomas Story gives a graphic account of the unsuccessful attempt of those in authority to break up the meeting :

The Presbyterian Provost (or Mayor) notwithstanding the Establishment of Liberty of Conscience in Matters of Religion, sent three of his Under Officers to disperse the Meeting ; but the power of the Lord being over them, they were over-awed thereby for some Time, till one of them, more hardened than the rest, laid hold on one of the Friends belonging to the City, and haled him out of the Meeting-house ; and then the other two, by his Example, laid Hands on other Friends, and took several more out ; and, at length, they laid hold on *Hugh Wood*, (Gardener to the Duke of *Hamilton*, a grave and religious Man) who they forced towards the Door, but, suddenly turning, he twisted himself out of their Hands, and sat down where he was before : And then several other Friends came in again, and so the Meeting continued : and, through the good Presence of the LORD, who never fails his People in the needful Time, we were much comforted and strengthened against all their Disturbance : But, when they saw they could not prevail that Way, they used Threats, saying, " It is just upon the Stroke of Twelve, and the Kirks are ready to break loose ; and if you are not gone before the Rabble come, they will tear you in Pieces, and we shall not be able to hinder them." Then said *John Bowstead*, " Do your Kirks consist of Rabble, that they will come with such Violence so soon as the Clock or Dial assigns the hour ? "

So the Friends continued to hold their meeting until " the Kirks were broken loose," and then, after John Bowstead had engaged in prayer, which one of the officers attempted in vain to hinder by placing his hands repeatedly over J. B.'s mouth, they made their way to their quarters " through a great Multitude of People in the Street, without any Harm ; so good was the LORD to us," adds Thomas Story " in preserving us from the Cruelty of that self-righteous and persecuting Generation : Yet a better Disposition appeared in many among them, which was obvious by their Countenances and Behaviour." ¹⁰

⁹ The main authority for the life of John Bowstead or Boustead (1659-1716) is *The Journal of Thomas Story*, 1747, and that of Christopher Story, 1726, the scene of his principal labours and sufferings being the north of England and Scotland. He visited Ireland in 1702. His home was Aglionby, in Cumberland. He wrote testimonies respecting John Banks (d. 1710), and William Edmondson (d. 1712).

See also *F.P.T. ; Piety Promoted ; John Grattan*, 1720 ; *Ferguson's Early Cumberland and Westmorland Friends*, 1871.—Ed.

¹⁰ *Journal of Thomas Story*, 1747, p. 74.

Returning to Hamilton in the afternoon the Friends, accompanied by others belonging to the town, united with Thomas Rudd¹¹ in perambulating the streets "two by two" whilst T. R. proclaimed his usual warning to repentance. They met with very rough treatment from the rabble who "pushed, haled, tossed, and abused *Hugh Wood* very much; which was the more inhuman, he being an ancient Man, a Neighbour, and had not said any Thing to provoke them, unless to persuade them to Moderation."

In the Second Month, 1701, Hew Wood attended the Yearly Meeting at Edinburgh and reported "that there was one Charg of horning¹² out against him [self for tythes] but that the Dutches of Hamilton did not use any execution there upon, and that [Friends of Hamilton] did bear ther testimony against ther made fast days."

Within a month afterwards, his death is recorded by the clerk of Hamilton Meeting, 25th of Third Month, 1701: "Hew wood gernner to the duch of hamilton decesed this Life a bout the 3 our of the day and was buried in his yeard that he had prepared for himself and for any onest frind." His relict died four years afterwards (20. iv. 1705), "and was buried in her husbands buriall place prepared by himselfe in their own Garden next day."

In the year after Hew Wood's death, Edinburgh Yearly Meeting received a letter from James and Alexander Wood informing Friends that their father had bequeathed

¹¹ Thomas Rudd (c. 1643-1719) was a miller of Wharfe, near Settle, Yorkshire. His principal service lay in preaching through the streets, for which he suffered severely. For some account of this in Scotland see *THE JOURNAL*, xii., 141, 142. Several of his letters are in D.—ED.

¹² Sir Walter Scott, in *The Antiquary*, gives the following humorous explanation of the term: "You must know then, once more, that nobody can be arrested in Scotland for debt. . . . You suppose a man's committed to prison because he cannot pay his debt? Quite otherwise; the truth is, the king is so good as to interfere at the request of the creditor, and to send the debtor his royal command to do him justice within a certain time—fifteen days or six as the case may be. Well, the man resists and disobeys—what follows? Why, that he be lawfully and rightfully declared a rebel to our gracious sovereign, whose command he has disobeyed, and that by *three blasts of a horn* at the market place of Edinburgh, the metropolis of Scotland. And he is then legally imprisoned, not on account of any civil debt, but because of his ungrateful contempt of the royal mandate."—Jonathan Oldbuck *loquitur*. I believe a simpler mode of procedure has rendered the picturesque old custom obsolete!

the Meeting House and Burial Place at Hamilton "for the service of truth." The Meeting appointed Daniel Hamilton trustee thereof "he alwise granting a back bond and doeing all other things anent the securing the said house and ground for the end designed." We hear no more of the matter until 1720, when a minute of Edinburgh Quarterly Meeting records "a proposall made for Buying y^e Burying Ground of Hew Wood and House ajoyning y^r to. This Meeting do apoynt George Swan and John Purdon to use there Interest with And^r Lettimors asistance in the affair." It would seem as if Friends must have previously sold the property, if indeed it had ever been really in their hands, for in 1722, the Quarterly Meeting was informed by William Miller, who had written to John Peacock of Wester Mucroft "in relation to Hugh Woods burrying place (together with the house adjoyning) that Hamilton of Raploch was not willing to sell it but that he would let it at a guiney a year w^{ch} being so ridiculous friends have thought fit to lay aside the thoughts of Burying there for some time."

One of the record books of Friends in the West of Scotland was known as "Hew Woods register." At the Yearly Meeting held at Edinburgh in 1708, George Swan was directed "to gett wpp hew woods register and any other peapers that continoues anything of the first spreading of truth or sufferings for it in the west of scotland and to remitt the sam to daniel hamilton also that Samuel Robertson Charles Ormston bartholomew gibson and William Miller doe the sam and that ane abstract of that don be andrew Jaffray be also sent up to the nixt quarterly Meeting at this place in order to be all put together and sent to London to be ingrosed in the generall historie acording to the memorial sent from frinds ther." (I suppose one can hardly hope that this interesting collection of documents is by any happy chance still reposing in the strong-rooms at Devonshire House.)¹³

Of Hew Wood's sons, James, the eldest, is frequently mentioned in the Meeting records. He followed his

¹³ There is no evidence at hand to prove that these historical papers ever reached London. There is no mention of Scotland in the list prepared by Benjamin Bealing, see frontispiece to "*The First Publishers of Truth*," 1907.—ED.

father's calling, and in 1692, was gardener to the Duke of Queensberry at Drumlanrig Castle. In 1685, he had married Abigail, daughter of Thomas Robertson, gardener at Kelso, one of the leading Friends there. After her death, in 1693, James Wood married again, this time, according to the clerk of the Quarterly Meeting, "on of the world and that with on of the Episcopal preists." The matter was brought before Hamilton Men's Monthly Meeting in Third Month, 1696, when James Wood himself having been present at the meeting for worship, Friends

found a great concerne upon our spirits for him and y^e Lords power & mighty presence and tender love was blessedly manifested among us and mighty cryes were put up unto y^e Lord for his recovery in y^e sense of w^{ch} constraining love of God we sent for him into this our men's meeting and laid before him y^e reproach y^t is brought upon Truth and y^e great grieff y^t is brought upon his ancient father and his mother in law and friends that love Truth and him by his scandallous walking and going contrary to y^e order of y^e precious Truth in his lately marrying one of another perswasion by a priest. Friends having dealt with him in y^e fear and love of God have warned him of y^e danger he is in if not prevented by speedy repentance and have weightily told him y^t they cannot have fellowship with him in y^e Truth unless y^t by bowing to y^e Judgements of y^e Lord he bring forth fruit meet for repentance, w^{ch} is our earnest desire to y^e Lord for him.

James Wood appears to have written a self-condemnatory paper which was read at Edinburgh Monthly Meeting in Fifth Month, 1697. The Meeting directed that it should be recorded "and a copie thereof sent to the place where he Lived." He was then resident at Fetteresso near Ury, whence he had already written to Hamilton Meeting requesting "a testificat." Friends seem at first to have "found ffreedom to send him one : wherein God's Blessed truth might be kept Clear Anent his former practice and yet as favourable as truth may permitt, that he may be rather gained then lost. But this is referred to the nixt men's meeting," and at that, Friends came to the conclusion "that no testimony can be given to him from this meeting both in relation as to his former practice, And also that while he kepted meetings at his house he lived at a great distance from ffriends in this place." However, the birth of a daughter in Twelfth Month, 1697, was recorded in Ury Meeting books, and he was evidently still considered to be a mem-

ber, as, four years later, his name was again brought before Edinburgh Quarterly Meeting, he, poor man, having fallen into intemperate habits, and it was then decided that Hamilton Monthly Meeting should be directed to testify against him. Probably this was eventually done, though at the next Quarterly Meeting the issuing of the testimony was "deferred."

Robert, Hew Wood's third son, probably died in childhood as there is no mention of him after 1671, but the two other sons, William and Alexander, grew to manhood, and both appear to have married Friends—the birth of a child of each of them being recorded in Hamilton Meeting register. William's daughter Anna, born in 1687, at Trochqwaire, "was brought up and educat by Hew Wood her grandfather and grissel wood his spouse Att Hamilton." Alexander, the youngest son, is mentioned several times in the Meeting records, and he seems to have acted as clerk to Hamilton Monthly Meeting during 1701-1702. His death is recorded as having taken place on "the sixth of Twelfth Month, 170 $\frac{3}{4}$." Two days afterwards "he was laed in the ground," "in his father's new burill place in his own inheritance his age when he daeid was 33 yeairs."

W. F. MILLER.

Winscombe, Som.

Esther Kilden, the representative from Masham to Richmond Monthly Meeting, being unable to attend, sent a letter to the Women's Meeting—the original being loose in the Minute Book:


"5th of 11th mo., 1761.

"As no woman could attend y^e Month Meeting have sent an Account of y^e state of our meeting not knowing anything but things is much as usuel, y^e First Days & week day Meeting is attended, for Poor we have none that hase any weekly Penshon, as for anything else we have no Reason of Complaint, heare is a friend has 3 Doughters which one of y^e youngest Enclines to go to plase, I Suppose She may be about 17 years of Age, her Mother say she is Pritty Helthy, I think Betty Robinson knows something of em, if Thomas Bailey or Widow Smith wants She thinks She Could Do for them or any Friends plase Such like in Wensleydale, her Mother say She is good natered Girl and hops She will be willing to Learn any thing she do not know, she can sow nit & spin, for wages y^e mother say she will not think much about em.

"So concludens with dear Love to Friends

"ESTHER KILDERN."

Note on Some Early Records of Quakers near Harrogate

URING the transcription of some local records the occurrence of a few references to the early Friends then resident, evidently in considerable numbers, near Harrogate, appeared to me to be of sufficient interest to warrant their publication. Although the names are herein lacking, a few may be found in the contemporary *Diaries of Oliver Heywood*¹ (1630-1702), and others are printed in the *Nonconformist Register*² (1644-1752), which contains lists of Papist Recusants and Quakers. Under the Toleration Act, on 8 October, 1689, the houses of the following persons were registered as meeting-houses: "Matthew Hogg, at Harrogate; William Dickinson of Bilton cum Harragate; William Reedshaw at Beckwithshaw in Panhall³; at Knarsborough at Mary Middleton house."⁴ In April 1697 the "Barne of Mr. Wright in Winsor Lane, Knarsbrough," is similarly licensed, and is certified by James Talor, Minnister, John Wright, William Thompson, George Cass, Wm. Benson and others.⁵

Under the terms of the Conventicle Act, on Thursday 29 November, 1683, Samuel Thornton of Beckwithshaw, labourer, with seven others, was committed to gaol, but appears to have been soon afterwards discharged, for unlawful assembly at the house of Henry Thompson of Askwith. On December 6th following, an entry is made that on the previous Sunday morning, at 11, the Churchwardens of Weston, being informed of a conventicle in a house belonging to the above Henry Thompson, entered and found a large gathering including Walter ffawcett, of Haveray Park (Harrogate), labourer.⁶

¹ Edited by J. Horsfall Turner in 4 vols.

² Edited by J. Horsfall Turner, 8vo. Brighouse, 1881.

³ Pannal.

⁴ *Nonconformist Register*, pp. 145, 146.

⁵ *Ibid*, p. 155.

⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 135, 136.

Oliver Heywood, who visited Harrogate more than once, speaks in 1668 of "Widdow Hog"—possibly the mother of the Matthew Hogg, whose house was registered as a Friends' Meeting-house. The diarist writes :

. . . And so passed on to Knaresborow Spaw⁷ where I met with many good friends of Leeds and others, and found comfortable employment, on Saturday in the afternoone I preacht at Widdow Hogs, on lords day at my own quarters, and George Wades, at his request and had a considerable number. on munday a considerable number kept a private fast at one francis Ingles near the wels where the Lord helped me wonderfully in preaching and praying.⁸

Possibly the foregoing extracts may serve to colour the picture presented in the matter which follows, and which now appears in print for the first time.

Pembroke, Harrogate

WALTER J. KAYE, JR.

For permission to transcribe various documents my thanks are due to the Vicars of Pannal (Rev. M. Rowntree) and Christ Church, Harrogate (Rev. D. S. Guy), respectively.

[From the Pannal Parish Constable's Accounts]

1662.	ffor charges in carrieing 28 quakers before Sr will ^m Ingleby : ⁹ ffor souldiers charges that carried them	.. .. .	0 2 6
	ffor my charges in going to Ripley the next day after to get the said quakers Examined	.. .. .	0 0 8
	ffor my charges in carrieing Sixe quakers to yorke Castle the 21th of September two daies travell	.. .. .	0 3 0
1665	Paid ffor writeing a bill of 14 articles the second time concerning Recusants and quakers and others then in question to deliver in to the cheife Constable the ffourth of June	.. .. .	0 0 6
	paid to the cheife Constable when the said articles was delivered in the same time	.. .. .	0 0 6
	ffor my charges the same day	.. .. .	0 0 8
	ffor my charges in going before the Justices with the quakers	.. .. .	0 0 8

⁷ i.e., High Harrogate, until 1749 in the parish of Knaresborough, —Low Harrogate, then often known as "Sulfer Well," being until 1825 in the parish of Pannal.

⁸ *Diaries of Oliver Heywood*, vol. i., p. 229.

⁹ Sir William Ingilby, Bart., of Ripley Castle.

There is a great deal of truth in the statement that the United States is a young nation. It is only about thirty years old, and its history is a history of rapid growth and development. The country has grown from a small colony to a great nation, and its people have made many contributions to the world.

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1684	for a privat search for Conventickles	oo oi oo
	ffor making a privat search every Quarter Sessions for	
	all Absenters and Conventickles	oo o4 oo
1685	one search ffor Conventickles	o i o
	. . . and search for Nonconformists	o i o

[From the Pannal Parish Register]

1700 James Bentlay quaker [buried] August 29.

[From the Parish Register of Christ Church, Harrogate]

1785	Jan. : 1 : .	Quakers Q	Mary Johnson, born June 26th, 1778	} Children of Thomas and Eliz : Johnson.
	[baptized]		Joseph Johnson, born June 30th, 1781	
			Ann Johnson, born Dec. 18th, 1782	
			Jane Johnson, born Apr. 3rd, 1784	
1786	Feb. 17th		David, son of Thos. and Eliz. Johnson.	
1788	Aug. 3rd.		Maria dau ^r of Tho ^s and Eliz. Johnson.	
1790	July 4th		John, son of Thomas and Elizabeth Johnson.	
1792	Jan. 31st		Ellen, daugh ^r of Thomas and Eliza : Johnson.	

A Quaker Idyll, 1693

SAMUEL COLE emigrated to New Jersey and settled on a large landed estate bounded by the Delaware River and Pennshauken Creek. Having been summoned to his former home in England to arrange some unsettled business, he sailed thither, and returning home by way of Barbados, he was taken ill and died there. Says Clement, "The extended distance of the voyage, and consequent delay therefrom not being known to the wife, she made frequent visits to Philadelphia to meet her husband and welcome him to his family again. Tradition says that she would stand for hours by the water's edge, looking anxiously down the river for the sail that would bring the father of her children. These visits and watchings at last attracted the attention of a young mariner who frequented the port, and who was not long in discovering the cause of her anxiety. Sympathizing with her, he extended his enquiries in her behalf, and at last discovered that her husband had died on his return as before-named. Her grief for this sad bereavement interested his feelings, and, finding that she was about returning home alone in her boat, he offered to accompany her and manage the same. This offer she accepted, and he sailed up the river to Pennshauken Creek, and thence nearly to her residence, thus bearing the sad news to her children and neighbors. This man was Griffith Morgan, who, after a proper interval of time, sailed his own skiff to the creek aforesaid, to offer his consolations to the widow, and to interest himself about her children and estate. This solicitude soon assumed another shape, and culminated in the marriage of Griffith Morgan and Elizabeth Cole."

(CLEMENT, *First Settlers in Newton Township, New Jersey*, 1877, p. 307, quoted in *My Ancestors*, by William Hopkins Nicholson, 1897.)

Richard Smith and his Journal, 1817:1824

Continued from volume xiii, page 141

RICHARD SMITH had now, it seems, made up his mind to return to England :

1820.

7 mo. 23. Spoke to John Hoyle to request my Certificate next M.M. to Friends M.M. in the County of Stafford,

but was not easy to do so without first paying at least a visit to the Indian settlements. This subject appears again in the Journal on

7 mo. 7. Departed from John Watson's this forenoon, having had a weighty opportunity with Joseph ; his father being present, who urged outward objections. [Joseph Watson had been married 4th mo. 26th.] Jos^h expressed a willingness to go with me to the Indians, but said his present situation as to the outward was very inconvenient ; and Friends not uniting with his going were powerful objections against his accompanying me. . . . They both thought it a large undertaking for myself, & John intimated going as proxy for his son Joseph, to which I made no answer.

7 mo. 9. Jos. Watson expressed himself free to leave all his outward concerns, & go with me ; but his wife is still a great obstacle, who seems irreconcilable.

7 mo. 16. Joseph Watson expressed satisfaction at what I had acted towards him . . . & in a weighty Frame of Mind I expressed to him that I looked for trouble of Body in the Journey, but peace of Mind.

7 mo. 17. Joseph Watson informed me this morning that his Wife had given up for Joseph to accompany me if Friends unite therewith. [Then followed the Mo. Mg. at Smithfield.] I sympathized with Jos. Watson's deep exercise in the Meeting, who opened his concern to visit the Indians, which Friends did not unite with at the present time. . . . Went to Benj. Ladds in the Evening, to whom I opened my Concern of visiting the Indians soon.

7 mo. 18. [At Short Creek Mo. Mg.] The Members of the Indian Committee stopped after Meeting, to whom Jonathan Taylor opened my Concern of visiting the Indians, to which no objection appeared except in W^m. Flanner. . . . He said I was a young man only lately received into Society : but the sense of the Meeting was in favour of my going.

R. S. was now at last to carry out the concern which had so long rested on his mind : he left Smithfield on the afternoon of the 24th provided with letters from

Benjamin Ladd to Friends at Alum Creek and Mad River settlements, and to Waughpokonetta and Lewistown, and one from William Wood to Isaac Harvey,³⁶ who was the Friend on the spot as superintendent. G. Crosfield writes: "In thus giving up from a feeling of duty to undertake the laborious journey, he does not appear to have had in view any definite prospect of service amongst them, but rather to have yielded to a strong desire to assist them in any way in his power, and be resigned to the performance of whatever service he might find to open before him." He travelled on foot, as usual, and found much of the country unsettled and dreary, while what crops there were stood unreaped, and worthless from damage by frost in the spring.

1820

- 7 mo. 27. Experienced a most uncomfortable Lodging, being annoyed with Fleas, Rats and the Rain beating thro' the Roof on the Bed, so that I slept very little; & the libertine manners of a Man from Frederic were disagreeable; but I felt thankful for being so well off as I am in this Wilderness Country. The woman of the house is civil.
- 8 mo. 1. Experienced very fatiguing Travelling to-day by reason of the quantity of Water lodged on the Road, so that I took my Shoes & Stockings off & walked about 5 miles barefoot.
- 8 mo. 3. At Darby Friends Meeting, where but about 15 or 16 persons were present, & the Meeting sat only $\frac{3}{4}$ of an hour: to me it was a time of suffering to see so little life & much formality manifested.
- 8 mo. 4. To the house of Henry Pickerell³⁷ with whom I had a long Conversation respecting the Indians, he having resided amongst them.

R. S. reached Isaac Harvey's at Waughpokonetta on the 7th of Eighth Month and quickly began to acquaint himself with the conditions prevailing there: but he was much impeded by the "soreness" of his leg, "supposed to be occasioned by walking in swamps," and was unable to get about much; on some days being confined to the house, with his leg on a chair "to ease the pain." The details of the visit cover thirteen closely written pages: it was a critical time, evidently, in the fortunes of the settlement, and no particular service in which he could be useful opened to him. He occupied himself in his times of enforced leisure in working at a Shawanese vocabulary, preparing alphabets for children, and in teaching Lydia Ballard, who was a keen learner, to write. The Indians were in council on a proposition to remove

them to the Missouri, or west of the Mississippi,³⁸ and their deliberations, accompanied with much drunkenness and turbulence, had lasted a long time, so that their crops were entirely neglected. The settlement contained a proportion of steady Indians, but the majority were thriftless and drunken. The chiefs had, nevertheless, considerable control, and held Isaac Harvey in esteem, protecting him from disturbance.

1820

8 mo. 13. The Indians during the past night have kept up a constant noise & confusion, riding about at a great rate, shouting & singing. Several drunken Indians made bold to come into Isaac Harvey's house, and behaved as well as could be expected. . . . W^m. Perry called to apologize for the confusion, & said the chiefs keep constantly speaking & tell them to behave orderly towards the Friends, and not let Friends be afraid of getting hurt.

8 mo. 14. The Indians being mostly set off for Picquay to receive their Annuities in Goods, the Town is in a state of Stillness after the very severe Storm of yesterday & preceeding, which was the most violent & confused among the Indians I. H. ever remembers to have seen.

8 mo. 15. I. Harvey related concerning Kinchin Taylor (Black Man) who requested Cent^r M.M. to become a Member, w^{ch} was standing 10 years, & a Jury of 12 appointed to visit him : 14 attended.

The entry of 8 mo. 16 contains an account, derived from Isaac Harvey, indicting Baltimore Friends for want of care and efficient oversight of the settlement, "who are, or have been completely under Johnson's³⁹ Thumb, they having entrusted him with the Money sent by an Ancient Friend from Ireland, which he appropriated as he thought fit, contrary to the Desire of the Chiefs . . . and it is contrary to the opinion of the active Committee [i.e., those on the spot], who are likely to be proper judges, and requested to be released, as the Baltimore Friends, I understand, have only been out at Waughpokonetta once since the commencement of the Establishment."⁴⁰

Under the same date, 16th, are two curious notes :

I. Harvey related the circumstance of the Friends at Darby joining or mixing with the Methodists in the erection of a Meeting-house, till it came that the Methodists came to the Meeting-House before the Friends Meeting had broke up, and even sat with them the whole time, till at last the Methodist Minister began to preach amongst the Friends ; which caused an Ancient Friend to get up & say it was an imposition, desiring him to desist ; & another Friend at his Elbow also got up and declared it nothing less than persecution to oppose his, the ministers

preaching. I. Harvey instanced this as co-respondent to the Baltimore Friends mixing their Concern with the Government.

A woman Friend, a Minister, M. R^e, opposed to receiving Blacks into Membership, convinced by I. H.; another woman Friend, then in good health, declared that she wished she might be cut off if K.T. or Blacks were received—deceased in one quarter of a year after.

8 mo. 18. [Two Friends arrived from Lewistown] they had received account at Lewis Town of I. Harvey's family having to move off for fear of the Indians.

8 mo. 19. Noah Haines & Caleb Harvey¹¹ were drawing a Draft of Indian Report, who are under considerable discouragement at the present prospect of affairs.

On the 22nd of Eighth Month, 1820, R. S. left Waugh-pokonetta. Though there is no record of his sensations, one cannot but feel deep sympathy with him in what must have proved a keen disappointment to the high hopes he had entertained of usefulness among the Indians.

8 mo. 23. Attended Goshen (on Mad River) Friends Meeting, & a dry & lifeless time it was. I went to Aaron Brown's—found several of his Family sick of a remittent Fever.

[Query : was his own illness a week later the result of this visit ?]

8 mo. 24. Attended Valley F. M., which was rendered consolatory and refreshing to me on account of the sincere-hearted and affectionate Friends I found there, particularly the late J. Paxton's widow & descendants, also John Williams, a very affectionate Friend. They appear concerned to have their Children attend week-day Meetings.

On the 28th, after seeing the sights at Columbus, he reached Black Lick, where he was so unwell that "from present Feelings I did not know but I might be detained on my Journey." "Let me not omit to record the peoples kindness & attention to me at this Tavern." Next day he managed to cover twenty-two miles: "in passing thro' Granville and Newark I found no freedom to stay in either place; in the former is a frame Meeting house, which has more of shew than substance."

R. S. was now really ill with a "bilious fever," but walked three hours on the morning of the 30th when he had to lie down at a Tavern. "I lay thus for several hours endeavouring with Divine assistance (which was in a marvellous manner afforded) to preserve in the Patience; after a time of deep inward waiting, all sense or feeling of sickness was overpowered by the holy Influence of the Divine Life & the feelings experi-

enced in England between 5 and 6 years ago brought fresh to my remembrance." Then follows a closely written page of exercise, marked in the margin: "V $\frac{1}{2}$ Years Meeting of Covenant Mercy."

In the cool of the evening he came downstairs and had some supper: "I was favoured to feel my Mind calm & serene, & far above the World & the things thereof."

Next day he walked 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ miles: "I made 3 applications for lodging & was denied, but I accepted the good will manifested at the last place." At the Tavern where he put up, he was told of the difficulty people had in getting their corn ground, and the exorbitant charges at the only available mill:

This latter information fastened on my Mind. This morning early the exercise was revived . . . resulting in believing it was commanded me to visit the proprietors of said mill; so I proceeded to return back to Zanesville . . . where I found one of the proprietors . . . I sat about 30 or 40 minutes, during which time his brother came not. I found myself so weak, weary, dull & exhausted that I felt freedom to tell the Man as I was so weak I purposed going & resting myself, & promised to call again.

By this time R. S. hardly knew what he was doing, or what house to go to, but chanced on a Watch-Maker whom he had known at Mount Pleasant, who took him to Robert Stewart's Tavern, "where we met with a young Man, viz., Sam^l Burnham, a Physician from Boston [probably Ohio] into whose care I freely gave up myself." Following this are two pages of very intimate details of symptoms and medicines: and from the 4th to the 10th inclusive, "I kept no Account of these 7 days." On the 11th and 12th, Friends returning from the Yearly Meeting called on him, one of them "an old Man Friend in mixed Clothes."

1820

9 mo. 13. Benj. Hoyle" arrived with a led Horse, intending to take me away, but I was too weak to undertake the Journey at present.

9 mo. 16. Mended my Socks, which required considerable repairs. Went to Grangers mill where I stayed two hours. I opened my concern to the elder Brother, but he justified his conduct by reason of a contract . . . walked with him up from the mill to R. Stewart's but no favourable impression appeared to be produced on his Mind. Dined with the Boarders and ate with great Relish on fresh roast Beef & Apple-pye. . . . procured Sam^l. Burnham's

bill, amounting to 60 dollars for 10 days and nights attendance. Called on Charles Deeble [the kind watchmaker].

That evening he set out, covered six miles on foot, and by easy stages, with many rests by the wayside, reached Smithfield on the 22nd.

9 mo. 18. Met men returning from mustering, riding at full speed, using bad language, oppressing their horses—exceeding the drunken Indians, tho' professing Christianity.

9 mo. 20. Succeeded in getting exchanged a 3 dollar Note (Mt. Pleasant) at Moorfield

is one of various entries indicating that the paper currency was of local circulation only.

9 mo. 24. Jonathan Mash requested me to undertake some business for him in Ireland about recovering an Estate, which did not seem likely to be attended with success.

On the 25th, preparations were in progress for the journey to Philadelphia, whither John Hoyle was to accompany him: an arrangement was made with James Calder to take them in his waggon for \$1.50 per day, and all expenses allowed him.

The difficulty in transmitting money is illustrated by the arrangements for paying the \$60 to Dr. Burnham. The money was taken to the bank at Mt. Pleasant; next day, hearing that Lewis Cary was going through Zanesville, "I felt free to send the money by him;"

10 mo. 1. Called on Lewis Walker,⁴³ who was not willing to go into the Bank for the Money I had deposited (being first day) so he procured $\frac{3}{4}$ ds of the amount, viz., \$40, by borrowing of his friends.

[A distinction without much difference.]

10 mo. 3. In the afternoon I felt dull, caused, as I supposed, by drinking Honey-drink at noon.

10 mo. 7. Sold some old Apparel to Jos. Watson, fixt the price at \$30 being \$10 less than I was charged, with which I united.

10 mo. 8. Took my seat facing the Meeting, at the intimation of Benj. Talbott.

On the 14th of Tenth Month, 1820, R. S. set off with John Hoyle in the waggon for Philadelphia. He had spent the last three weeks moving about Smithfield, Richmond and Mount Pleasant, in much weakness of body, disposing of the remnant of his stock, collecting debts due to him, writing to those who had befriended him on his travels, and bidding farewell to his neighbours.⁴⁴

Every day he records lying down for some hours, wherever he happened to be.

Travelling about twenty miles a day, and R. S. often very poorly, the party reached J. Hoyle Jr's house, Morris place, Whipping [Whitpain] Township, Montgomery County, sixteen miles from Philadelphia, on the 29th.

1820

- 10 mo. 29. J. H. [Jr.] informed me of 3 young Men Friends that were in prison at Norristown for not paying the fine of \$40 imposed for refusing to turn out to fight—last war. One of them (Phipps) refusing to pay the Jailer \$2½ p week for Board, was thrust into a lower Apartment & had the Fever & Ague.

[Query : A relation of a past event.]

- 10 mo. 31. Went in the Evening to Samuel Bettles house, & deliver'd to him this Years Ohio Yearly Meetings Epistle for Philadelphia & for New York, entrusted by B. W. Ladd.

Four weeks were spent at and near Philadelphia, ascertaining what ships were to sail for England, laying in stores, and, as always, in useful help to his host and friends : writing letters for John Hoyle, preparing his will and mending J. H. Jr's saddle and hat ; " assisted Ann Shillitoe to form part of a letter to her parents." The names of many local Friends occur in the Journal of these days.

- 11 mo. 9. [At Abingdon Q.M.] Most of the Young Men & Young Women appear'd wild, & wore gay Clothing.
 11 mo. 15. Jos^b Everall came.
 [It is not stated who he was, but he returned to England with R. S.]
 11 mo. 18. Went to 4 or 5 houses in quest of something to make raised pies for ship-store.
 11 mo. 20. Went to T. P. Cope's^s to enquire ab^t Ship, marked a Berth in her.
 11 mo. 21. Paid Passage Money to Liverpool in the Steerage of the Ship *Tuscarora*, W^m. West, Master.

On the 28th, R. S. and his companion left Philadelphia, by steam boat for Newcastle, and went on board the *Tuscarora* next day. The account of the voyage is in detail, and covers twelve pages : though often rough, it was much more comfortable than the outward passage, as there were but nine passengers in the steerage, and he had the company of J. Everall.

- 12 mo. 6. Had a honing after Oysters & Cider, both of which the Captain had, but did not feel a favourable opportunity of obtaining them.

22 RICHARD SMITH AND HIS JOURNAL

1820

- 12 mo. 8. Able to get Articles cooked to some degree of satisfaction which had not generally been the Case heretofore.
- 12 mo. 10. Exercised about distributing Tracts, in which no way appears yet to be open, except one to the Steward.
- 12 mo. 11. A Sailor informed me that it had Thundered, & about 11th hour in the Night, a Corposant appeared which remained about an hour on the top of the Main-Mast in the form of a ball of light. Engaged this forenoon cutting up the Insides of some raised Pies, which were mouldy, having been cooked on Land.
- 12 mo. 19. Prepared the inside of raised Meat Pies for rebaking.
- 12 mo. 22. Distributed some Tracts among the Passengers to satisfaction.

The ship docked in Liverpool on the 24th: they landed in the afternoon and "Examined the directions of Letters entrusted to my care by Persons in America, some of which had the words, Old England, on them, which we erased: put 23 of them into the Post Office."

- 12 mo. 25. J. Moore gave me £2 Bk. of England paper for 16 half-crowns, which I had rec^d of Lewis Walker [at Mt. Pleasant] at the rate of 3/- each.
- 12 mo. 26. We got our Articles conveyed to the Custom House, where they underwent a strict scrutiny by an Old Man (a Land waiter) who used very prophane and uncivil Language towards me. A Box of Books, belonging to each of us, was detained, tho' they were english-printed, & had been taken out by me from this country.
- 12 mo. 27. Engaged . . . about Box of Books, but did not succeed in getting them away, though the Collector of Excise told me they would deliver them, but they made a charge for an Entry, but I did not feel freedom to affirm to them all being British-printed Books.
- 12 mo. 28. Delivered the Ohio Yearly Epistle for Ireland to Isaac Cooke.⁴⁶ Took away box of books from Custom House.

On this day J. Everall left for Chester by the steam boat.

On the 30th of Twelfth Month, R. S. left Liverpool on foot for Manchester, and after a short stay there, during which he visited the Infirmary, seemingly to arrange about the arrears of his subscription, walked home to his brother-in-law's house at Endon, reaching it on the 4th of First Month, 1821.

- 1 mo. 3. Altho' a Coach passed as I was leaving Manchester, I did not feel free to ride on it, as I expected to do last night (on account of my sore feet); but I have been enabled thro' favour to perform my Journey far beyond my expectation.

It is indicative of his desire to seize all opportunities for religious worship, that on his arrival at Leek, he went straight to the mid-week meeting, before going on to his brother-in-law's at Endon.

³⁶ In a report to the Y.M. of 1826 from the Committee on Indian Concerns, signed by Lewis Walker, there is a reference to a School under the superintendence of Isaac Harvey and his wife which, though held successfully for some time, was discontinued early in 1826, the superintendent having been "notified by the Indians that they intended to remove to the country west of the Mississippi." Harvey's place of residence appears in the Y.M. printed extracts as *Wapahgonnetta*, now *Wapahoneta*, Auglaize County, O.

There were two ancient Friends, Isaac and Sarah Harvey, living in Clinton County, O., at the time of the Civil War, who visited Abraham Lincoln at the White House in 1862. (Wilbur, *Friends with Lincoln in the White House*, Phila., 1912.)

³⁷ In the printed minutes of Ohio Y.M., 1838, there is a reference to Henry Pickerell, of *Zanesville*, Logan County. This should probably read *Zanesfield*, which is in Logan Co., the district in which Richard Smith then was; in which Co. also is Pickerelltown. H. Pickerell accompanied Smith on several visits.

³⁸ See note 36.

³⁹ This was probably John Johnson, the Indian Agent. R. S. writes under date 8 mo. 5, "John Paxton informed that J. Johnson (Indian Agent) had written to T[homas] Ellicott of Baltimore informing him of the distressed condition of the Indians for want of clothing and desiring him to send on \$1,000 worth of goods on Friends Acc' . . . which letter T. E. took to the President," etc. In a report dated Ninth Month, 1819, there is noted a gift of £150 from "our brethren in Ireland."

John Paxton lived at Lewistown. His wife and he had the care of Indians at this village, as Isaac Harvey and his wife at *Wapahgonnetta*.

⁴⁰ It is clear that local Friends were somewhat out of harmony with Friends of the distant Baltimore Y.M. Committee. This Committee reported to the Y.M. of 1821 that "since the union of our Committee with that of Ohio Yearly Meeting, in the year 1816, the more active part of the duties confided to us have been discharged by Friends of Ohio, as the very remote situation in which we are placed necessarily rendered much personal attention on our part impracticable." The Committee proposed to hand over to Ohio the control of the work. (Extracts from the Minutes of Baltimore Y.M., 1821.)

⁴¹ Caleb Harvey (1776-1830) was a native of North Carolina, and removed to Ohio on his marriage. "He was appointed a member of the Committee on Indian Civilization by Ohio Yearly Meeting soon after the commencement of that concern in said meeting, and upon the establishment of Indiana Y.M. at Whitewater, in the year 1821, a committee was appointed to co-operate with Ohio and Baltimore Y.M.'s, their labors being directed more particularly to those of the Shawnee tribe on the reservation at *Wapahgonnetta*." Testimony in *Indiana Memorials*, 1857. A letter written to Robert Forster, by C. Harvey, is in D., dated from Wilmington, O., 7 mo. 20. 1826.

⁴¹ Benjamin Hoyle sat at the Clerk's desk at Ohio Y.M., as assistant to Benjamin W. Ladd, from 1832, for several years, and in 1838 he became Clerk. In 1854 B. Hoyle signed one of the two Epistles addressed to London Yearly Meeting, sent from two bodies purporting to be Ohio Y.M., but the Epistle signed by Jonathan Binns for the body he represented was accepted in London in 1855. See *Statement of the Proceedings of the Yearly Meeting held in London, 1855, in reference to the Division in Ohio Yearly Meeting*, London, 1855.

⁴² Lewis Walker was a prominent Friend, Clerk to the Committee on Indian Concerns, treasurer to the Y.M., etc, which he held for many years. (see e.g., *Report of the Trial of Friends at Steubenville, Ohio, 1828*, Phila. 1829, pp. 57-61.)

⁴³ A pen-map of Ohio Y.M., prepared at Salem School in Fifth Month, 1827, has recently been presented to D. It gives many of the place-names which appear in R. S.'s Journal in Ohio, and locates the Meeting of Kendal (with 99 members), on the Tuscarawas River, perhaps the present city of Massillon in Stark County.

This map records that (1) Westland was the first Meeting of Friends settled west of the Alleghany Mountains. (2) Redstone the first Quarterly Meeting west of the Mountains. (3) Concord the first Meeting in the State of Ohio. (4) Short Creek the first Quarterly Meeting in Ohio. . . . (6) Ohio Y.M. contains fifty-three Meetings and nearly 9,000 members. (7) Indiana Y.M. contains about 110 Meetings and about 15,000 members.

⁴⁴ Thomas P. Cope (1768-1854) was a Friend, son of Caleb Cope, of Lancaster, Pa. The following is a list of his numerous activities:

Merchant in Philadelphia, 1786-1854.

Established the first line of packets between Philadelphia and Liverpool, 1821.

Cared for sick during yellow fever, 1793, and small-pox, 1797.

Member of City Council.

Helped to introduce water into Philadelphia.

Member of State Legislature.

Member of State Constitutional Convention.

President Board of Trade many years.

President Mercantile Library.

Executor Stephen Girard's Estate.

Interested in Chesapeake and Delaware Canal.

Secured "Lemon Hill" as Public Park.

Promoter of Pennsylvania Railroad, 1846.

Information from Allen C. Thomas and Ella K. Barnard.

⁴⁵ Isaac Cooke (c. 1780-1862) was a cotton-broker in Liverpool, and one of the founders of the Bank of Liverpool. He was also instrumental in founding the Friends' Boarding School at Penketh, near Warrington (1834). There is a picture of him, with other notices, in the *History of Penketh School*, by Joseph Spence Hodgson, 1907.

With reference to note 32 (xiii, 141), the following information has been sent us from "Brittany," Gerrards Cross, Bucks.:

"I met twenty years or more ago in Moorestown, N. J., an old Friend, over 80, named Seth Warrington, who told me of the accident referred to. He (a young man at the time) was driving the conveyance across the Delaware, on the ice, when the back wheels went through and the women were thrown under the ice and lost.

"WILLIAM KENNEDY."

[The owner of the original Diaries has lately been so kind as to lend them for comparison; there has not yet been time to examine them thoroughly, but, as the account of R.S.'s sojourn in Ohio is now concluded, a few particulars from the cash memoranda at the end of the volumes for 1818 and 1819 will be interesting.

As is natural, the products of the district were cheap, though R.S. once records that there was no flour to be had in the district as the drought had stopped the water-mills; while articles that came from a distance were high in price. His board and lodging cost him \$1.50 to \$1 87½ a week, and for much of this he paid with goods from his store, keeping a running account with his landlady. The average amount paid for a night at a tavern was 37½ cents for supper and bed, and 25 cents for breakfast.

Eggs were sold at four for a penny; butter in quantity at 12, 14, and 16 cents a pound; "segars" cost him \$1.25 and \$1.50 for 500 ("½ m"), and he sold tobacco at 12½ cents a lb.; sugar was bought at 18½ cents per lb., coffee at 40 and 42 cents; tea seems to have been little used, only a lb. or two was stocked at a time, costing \$1.37½ and even \$2.

The "drab roram hat" (see xiii. 131) cost \$4.50, which was also the price of wool hats; he sold shoes in the store very cheaply, ranging from 75 cents. for "children's green" to \$1.50 for "men's coarse"; but for his own use he paid \$3.50 for a pair of "high-quartered double-vamped" shoes. On one occasion he obtained 3½ lbs. of veal for 18½ cents!

The goods he brought with him to Smithfield (see xiii. 89) were three dray-loads, and weighed 2,200 lbs.; the freight in the Ark-boat (see xiii. 91) including his own passage was \$11, and the cartage from Steubenville to Smithfield, \$12.50.

There are several entries of loss through destroying counterfeit notes of various banks, but only small currency, 50, 12½, 6½ cents; the largest was \$2.

R.S. had not much to spare for charity—no doubt he made up for it by spending time and trouble; some interesting entries are:

To Nich ^s Ross a slave tow ^{ds} purchasing Emancip ⁿ	.. .. 12½ cents
M ^c Kever of Middle town towards emancipating a Negro	.. .. 50 cents
Subscription to Andrew Cramblet whose house & property was destroyed by fire	.. .. 50 cents
Subscription towards conveying a Black woman to New Lisbon	.. .. 50 cents
Subscrip ⁿ towards defraying Expenses of a Delegate to Conv ⁿ at Philadel ^a	.. .. 50 cents
Subscrip ⁿ towards defraying Expenses of Betty Davis suit for her freedom against Henning & others	.. .. \$3

The licence to retail goods for one year cost \$10.16; he paid C. Osborne \$2.50 for printing 150 copies of "Drunk^{ss} Cry to Beasts and on Swear^t"; and there are payments to Philadelphia for tracts (see xiii. 141). There is a list of the subscribers to the School at Richmond, with various amounts opposite the names; the practice was to make a three months' contract for schooling at 9s. per child.

The memoranda from which these details are taken do not afford any general survey of R.S.'s financial position; he was not at any time penniless, for he deposited \$340.51½ with John Hoyle for safe-keeping in Sixth month, 1819, which, from other evidence, seems to have remained in J.H.'s hands till some time after R.S. returned to England.

Two Letters from David Livingstone

Tette, 11 Dec. 1858.

MY DEAR MR. STURGE,

You were kind enough to write when I was in England in commendation of the views you hold respecting war and the taking away of human life. I am sorry that I could not give that due attention to the subject as put forward by you as it deserved, and the letter having been mislaid, I think I cannot do better than try to enlighten you by way of answer. The loss of the letter having left me in such a state of darkness that will procure pardon for my presumption.

I love peace as much as any mortal man. In fact I go quite beyond you for I love it so much I would fight for it—You, who in a land abounding in police and soldiers, ready to catch every ruffian who would dare to disturb your pretty dwelling may think this language too strong, but your principles to be good must abide the test of stretching. Fancy yourself here. A man whom I cured of fever at Quilimane when on my way to England in 1856 no sooner heard of Luis Napoleon's emigration scheme than he purchased a quantity of gunpowder, armed his slaves and made a foray into the Licunga country, and brought back some hundreds of captives. Had you been one of the Licunga, you would have been knocked on the head as too old, and your wife and children would have lost that liberty for which our fathers fought and bled. Ah, but I would not have used any defensive arms say you; & would have been safe. Well, six of my Makololo men—very fine young elephant hunters all of them—went down from this about thirty miles *totally unarmed*. They had been in the habit of visiting different chiefs in the vicinity and were usually invited to shew the dances of their country. After doing this they generally were rewarded with a handsome present of food. In this instance the chief named Bonga requested them to dance. They did so. He then ordered them to be taken to a certain hut where there were provisions on pretence of

giving some, and killed the whole six. He was perfectly aware of their being my men, but he wanted certain parts of their bodies as medicine and killed two of them very cruelly. Had they been armed with revolvers their lives would have been safe. I think so, though it is the most earnest wish and prayer of my heart that I may never be placed in those circumstances in which it may be necessary to take away the life of a fellow man. I have done nothing but speak to his nephew about it, and send a message to the murderer—the only excuse he urges is a false one—not knowing they were my men. Well, the moral effect of doing nothing is this. Wishing to be on friendly terms with another chief north of this I sent him a handsome present, and a message explanatory of our objects, our wishes to put an end to their wars, etc., etc. He received it in a very cordial manner, and sent two men to see me. He presented two elephants tusks also. I would rather not have received them, but it was said a refusal would be considered an insult. I treated the two men as well as I could but they thought that I ought to have given more. I offered the tusks but they went off in high dudgeon, roaring out the threat that they would kill any of my men they met, and taunting me with “though Bonga killed six of your men *you did nothing* to him!” The people near to the Portuguese are much worse than those farther inland, but this is the place where your principles ought to be tested, not where the people are friendly or where the policeman keeps the peace. I have in no way been mixed up with country affairs. We went from side to side during the actual war—bought what we needed from each—cut wood on the rebels bank one day and wooded on the Portuguese bank the other. I am widely known as a man of peace. I could quote this were I disposed to accept evidence all on one side, but I know the other side of the question too, and I can never cease wondering why the Friends who sincerely believe in the power of peace principles dont test them by going forth to the heathen as missionaries of the cross. I for one would heartily welcome them from the belief that their conduct would have a good influence though it would never secure their safety.

D. LIVINGSTONE.

28 TWO LETTERS FROM DAVID LIVINGSTONE

Tette, 28th Novr, 1860.

MY DEAR SIR,

In reference to your letter of 30th Decr 1859, giving me an account of the decease of our much esteemed friend Joseph Sturge, I may be allowed to explain that he favoured me with a letter while I was engaged with several very trying public meetings in Glasgow, Edinburgh, &c. I just opened it and saw that it was on the subject of Peace—then put it aside in the hope of attending to what was said the first time I had leizure. Unfortunately I never saw it again, & have no idea how it was lost. It however remained on my mind that I had not treated him as I ought to have done, and to get rid of that feeling I wrote stating some difficulties that seem to stand in the way of the adoption of Peace principles. You appear to have answered them very fairly and I thank you and Mrs. Sturge for the trouble you have taken. I pray that the Almighty may so guide my steps so that it shall never be forced upon me to fight with either black or white—but I cannot but believe that war in some cases is both necessary & just. At best it is a monstrous evil,—and never to be resorted to except under the gravest necessity. In African forays we have the worst evils of war and I think that Christians ought to exert themselves to establish lawful intercourse with the degraded heathen. It seems certain that intercourse will be established and the good ought to forestall the advances of the bad. Some of the Friends ought to put their principles to the test of practise and appear among us the harbingers of peace. I lately marched 600 miles up this river on foot—people all friendly except those near the Portuguese. I carried a stick only until passing through a tangled forest alone a Rhinoceros made a charge and stopped short when within 3 yards of me—ever after I carried a Revolver—My kind regards to Mrs. Sturge.

DAVID LIVINGSTONE.

Copied from the originals, the first in the possession of Joseph Sturge, of Birmingham, and the other belonging to Miss Magdalen Evans, of London.

Ann Whitall and the Battle of Red Bank, 1777

“**W**HEN the war of the Revolution at last broke out, the Americans built a series of forts on the Delaware to protect Philadelphia from the British Fleet . . . Now it happened that one of these forts, Fort Mercer, was placed on the farm of Red Bank, so near to the Whitall house that Ann Whitall must have seen the work going on—with what grim reflections we can imagine—from her windows . . . During the battle which raged about her house Ann Whitall sat upstairs, spinning. As a Quaker, she of course utterly disapproved of fighting. . . . So there she sat, calmly spinning, in the midst of the cannon-balls; quite refusing to move, and probably not even looking out of the window. And it was only, at last, when a shell burst through the walls and partitions behind her back that she reluctantly and leisurely took up her wheel and went down to continue her spinning in the cellar.

“But when the battle was over, and the Hessians retreated, she came up to take care of the wounded who filled her house. We are told that she scolded the Hessians for coming to America to butcher people, but also that she was active and vigorous and kindly in nursing them; and indeed, it was an unrivalled opportunity to gratify her love of herbs and prescriptions. Count Donop died in her house. . . . The gallant young German noble thus found his grave on this New Jersey farm. . . . Their orchard was cut down and their barns destroyed. . . . The only reference in Ann Whitall's Diary to these events is the note that in 1777 the ‘gugments’ predicted by the aged woman preacher ‘Eals Holl’ [Alice Hall] had come upon them. And it seems that in her stern soul she believed this rage of musketry and cannon, these shells bursting through the house, and men-of-war exploding almost under her windows, were a judgment on them; troops being sent from Germany and France, and war ships brought by

Heaven across the ocean, to punish her family and other Friends for sleeping in meeting and for Sunday skating and fishing."

The above is taken from an article by Logan Pearsall Smith which appeared in *The Atlantic Monthly* of July, 1901, entitled: "Two Generations of Quakers. An Old Diary." He describes the Diary as "a little old book, shabby, and yellow and worn at the edges . . . every corner closely filled with small, old, faded writing." It was the Diary of Ann Whitall, *née* Cooper, (d. 1797), wife of James Whitall (1717-1808) of Red Bank, New Jersey, and appears to have covered the years 1760, 1761, and 1762, with an addendum written in 1780. Of the Diarist, L. P. S. writes: "She was a soul of the old, stormy kind; her spirit lived not so much in New Jersey as in the Jerusalem whose wickedness was denounced by the prophets . . . She would predict with grim satisfaction judgments from Heaven."

Ann Whitall and the Battle of Red Bank, 1777, is referred to at length in *John M. Whitall*, 1879, quoting Lossing's *Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution* and Watson's *Annals of Philadelphia*. On the authority of her grandson, we read in *John M. Whitall* that Ann Whitall "saw the lower limbs of a thief going upstairs. She followed him up immediately, found him under the bed, ordered him out, led him by the collar down stairs and slapped his face, and bid him be gone" (page 11).

Meeting Records

AT THE MEETING HOUSE, BULL STREET, BIRMINGHAM

Campden and Stow Monthly Meeting,	1724-1779.
Old South Warwickshire ,,	1748-1790.
Shipston Monthly Meeting,	1758-1790.
South Warwickshire Monthly Meeting,	1790 to date.
Shipston and Brailles Preparative Meeting,	1790-1854.
Shipston and Armscott Accounts,	1680-1701.
Campden Women's Monthly Meeting,	1754-1790.
South Warwickshire Women's M.M.,	1790-1831.
Shipston Women's Preparative Meeting,	1820-1857.

Notes on the Travels of Aaron Atkinson in America, 1698, 1699

AARON ATKINSON (1665-1740) was born at Masthorn in the parish of Stapleton, Cumberland, and became a packman, apprenticed to William Armstrong. Master and man both became Friends. "They attended various Meetings and preached together, and drew large audiences. . . . They prospered too, in business, which at first after their conversion declined, but afterwards revived, as they were found to be honest in their dealings" (Ferguson, *Early Cumb. and Westm. Friends*, 1871, p. 104). Atkinson travelled to many parts of the British Isles. He attended Yearly Meeting in Philadelphia in 1698 and 1699 (Box Meeting MSS. in D.). On return he took up a residence at Leeds, where he died.

See *Christopher Story*, 1726; *Thomas Story*, 1747 (many reff.); *Collection of Testimonies*, 1760; *William and Alice Ellis*, 1849; mss. in D.

"That there was agreat openness and tenderness in North Carolina, and Some Negroes broke into Tears.

"And in Virginia them called the Hatt Men none left, and of the ungodly Ranters but one left y^t troubled ffriends.

"And there are young and Middle aged People among them very tender and Truth prospers and there was great tenderness and Epistles hence are comfortable to them.

"Jn Western shore in Maryland very zealous in great love and keep up their Meets for Business and are of good Esteem among the people y^t are not ffriends & the Governour and very loving to publick ffriends, & Life Springs every where, where ffriends are, and he and Tho: Story were at their Yearly Meet at the Eastern shore and had a Comfortable Season with them.

"And there is a fine people at West Jarsey, at East Jarsey some y^t were hurt by that sp^t y^t G. Keith went forth in, were tendered and Returned to ffriends the Separation G. K. caused there comes to little.

"Jn Long Jsland a good people, and they had a Comfortable Meeting, but one Meet: of the Ranters Remains in the Woods, and had good service among those people, where there had been Ranters, and in Road-Jsland; And also at Boston in New England, where ffriends were Executed, and Tho: Story was with the Governr abot ffriends Sufferings, and the Lord is at work there,—and there is a great tenderness among the people, and proposed y^t some books of Antient ffriends sufferings there, might be Reprinted, and sent thither, And had a Meet: at New London, where there did not use to be a Meet: and the Lords power came over all: —and they had oppertunity to acq^t the people they were none of the Ranters; and also to declare the Truth, and had another Meet: after the Priests had their Conference there.

"Jn Pensilvania agreat openness and alarge Meet: House 4 Schooles good Meets: and the Lord with them in a great Measure was at two Yearly Meetings where he was greatly comforted.

"Friends in Maryland, Virginia and Pensilvania are greived wth ffashionable things sent from England. They carrye it well to y^e Indians."

Copied from the Minutes of London Yearly Meeting, vol. ii., p. 302 (*anno* 1700), in the handwriting of Benjamin Bealing, Recording Clerk.

Mary Whitall and her Bonnet

ONE day, when quite a little girl, she was crossing the bridge over Woodbury Creek on her way to school, when her dislike to her bonnet grew so strong that she took it off and kicked it before her. The deed weighed heavily on her conscience, and, as she was returning home in the dusk of evening, she was startled, upon reaching the middle of the bridge, to see a dark shadow at a little distance up the creek. This, to her excited imagination, assumed the appearance of a figure coming towards her, with finger uplifted in solemn warning. Filled with terror at what she felt a deserved rebuke, she ran home as fast as her trembling limbs could carry her, resolved henceforth to wear her bonnet in full submission. As she grew older and could better understand the reasons for her plain dress, her childish objections to it passed away, and she quietly settled down to the simplicity in which she was educated.

Memoir of Mary Whitall (1803-1880), 1885, p. 6.

Joseph Rickman and his Poems

A VERY rare, thin octavo volume has recently been presented to D. by Kirk Brown, of Baltimore, Md., entitled *Religious & Moral Poems*, by the late Joseph Rickman, of Lewes, Sussex, England. Philadelphia: printed for the Proprietor, 1828.

Joseph Rickman (1749-1810) was a son of John and Elizabeth (Peters) Rickman, and was born at Lewes, Sussex. In 1772 he married Sarah Neave, of Staines (when he was "of Maidenhead, Surgeon and Apothecary") and had a large family, among his children being Thomas, the noted architect (1776-1841), John, the accountant (1780-1835), Edwin Swan, the author (1790-1873), and William, the Schoolmaster (1781-1871). In 1777 he received Thomas Pole (1753-1829) into his family as apprentice, and they remained through life on very friendly terms. (*Thomas Pole, M.D.*, by Edmund T. Wedmore, 1908, where there is a reproduction of a profile of J. R., by Dr. Pole.)

The Gentleman's Magazine of 1810 has this reference to his decease:

"At Dublin, aged 64, Mr. Joseph Rickman, a native of Lewes, and formerly one of the people of Quakers. He had for the last two or three years held forth as a street preacher in most of the principal towns of the Kingdom, and particularly in the Metropolis, with a degree of eccentricity bordering on insanity. He was by profession a surgeon and apothecary, and practised many years at Maidenhead." (vol. 80, p. 662.)

There are nineteen pieces in this little book. One is addressed "To the little Lambs in Ackworth Fold, J. and W. R. their cousins, &c." J. and W. R. were probably his own sons, John and William, who entered Ackworth together in 1790, and the cousins would be some of the seventeen children of his brother, Richard Peters, and Mary (Verrall) Rickman, all who grew up, save George the youngest, being educated at Ackworth. Another poem was written on the death of his brother, R. P. Rickman, in 1801, the first of the line of Richard Peters and John, in alternate generations, down to the present John; and another to the memory of his sister Ann (1757-1793), who married William Jeffrey, of Salisbury.

William Rickman (1781-1871) was the third son of Joseph Rickman. He was at Ackworth School from 1790 to 1795. It does not appear in what year he went to America, but in 1821 he transferred his membership from Frankford, Pa., to Baltimore, Md. It is probable that before residing at Frankford he taught school in Cincinnati. Later in 1821 he was at Nottingham, Md. In the Introduction to his father's Poems he writes: "The following collection of Poems is affectionately inscribed to his Scholars at Cincinnati, Frankford, Woodbury, Baltimore, East Nottingham, Bush, Fawn Grove, West Grove and Sadsbury, by their late teacher W. R." In his *Thoughts on Education including the draft of a Constitution for a contemplated Society, to be called The United States Education-Improvement Society*, William Rickman describes himself as

"An Instructor of Youth, in the States of Ohio, Pennsylvania and Maryland, from 1818 to 1826" (Smith, *Cata. Supp.*; pamphlet not in D.). He had relinquished his educational work so far as we know, when he wrote a Preface to his father's Poems in 1828, and issued his educational pamphlet in 1830, in which later year he was residing on Pratt Street (above Howard), in the City of Baltimore.

The late Perceval Lucas wrote under date, July 21st, 1902, "W. R. was an enthusiast on the subject of education and died in York Retreat, 1871, aged 89" (letter in D.). The *Annual Monitor* gives his residence as London.

An Adventure on the Delaware River

IT was a winter's day and the sleighing was perfect. The swine had been slaughtered, and a stock of lard, sausages and tenderloins, filled the larder. My mother determined that a sister in Philadelphia should have some of these good things, and this was a fine opportunity to take them. So Bob was rigged to the sleigh, and loading the spoils we started, my mother and cousin Rebecca, M. Cooper and myself the passengers, and father the driver. I remember well how I enjoyed the jingle of the echoing bells, as that frosty morning we passed by the old woods then bordering the road to Camden. Reaching the river we found it was solidly frozen over and covered with snow. It seemed a perfectly even plain of pure white. A stream of foot passengers, and sleighs and sleds were going and returning over it, and our only recourse was to do as did the rest. Down the slip we rode, and soon were in line with the others travelling on the ice. We reached the city gaily, and having done all our errands, started to recross the river, my father standing up in front the better to manage his steed and insure the safety of his precious charge. He wore a broad-brimmed hat, and an ample camel cloak. We had just struck the ice when Bob took fright at something and began running. It was a moment of peril, for open air-holes lay not far distant. We in the sleigh were not a little terrified. As to father, while we were thus speeding, first his big hat flew off and took to the rear. Then a wig he wore came loose, and after flapping in the gale, shortly followed the hat. Now, bald-headed, with his cloak streaming in the wind, my father tried the expedient of guiding Bob towards a projecting wharf. Rather than strike this, Bob slackened his pace, and a man seizing him by the bridle, brought him to a halt. It was then my father enjoyed first the reception of his wig from a polite witness of his disaster, and then his broad-brimmed hat from another. After composing ourselves and calming Bob, we headed homeward, rejoicing that we had escaped a more serious disaster.

From *My Ancestors*, by William Hopkins Nicholson, 1897. The father and mother of the writer were Samuel Nicholson (1793-1885) of Haddonfield, N. J., and Rebecca Hopkins, his wife.

Friends and Current Literature

Books of interest to Friends may be purchased at the Friends' Book Shop, 140, Bishopsgate, London, E.C.

The Friends' Book and Tract Committee, 144 East 20th Street, New York City, are importers of Friends' literature.

Many of the books in D. may be borrowed by Friends. Apply to Librarian, Devonshire House, Bishopsgate, London, E.C.

AN improvement in the presentation of Quaker history to the general public is very noticeable in Henry T. Hodgkin's jubilee volume, *Friends Beyond Seas*.¹ Here there are careful explanations of Friendly terms—Meeting for Sufferings (p. 23n), Queries (p. 41n), "concern" (p. 59n), Morning Meeting (p. 60n)—also brief biographies of Friends mentioned, and a good index. Contrast this exact work with, say, the book on "The Friends: Who they are—what they have done," published by Edward Hicks, Jr., in 1892. Chapter V. mentions over thirty early Friends, but there is not a single date in the twelve pages! and there is little if any reference to authority, as e.g., that, in the national emergency of Napoleon's threatened invasion, Friends prepared themselves to serve on ambulance corps or in hospitals (p. 215); or the fact that to the 2,800 pages of the works (1851-1868) of Samuel M. Janney there is no Index!

A few slips such as Cotherstone in Durham (*Yorkshire*), John (*Josiah*) Coale, (p. 16); James Jupp should be James *Jesup* (c. 1795-1868) who was the companion of Edwin O. Tregelles in the West Indies, (p. 31); the beginning of Y.M. in London was 1660, (p. 187), will no doubt be put right in another edition.

Edmund Yerbury Priestman (1890-1915) was a birthright member of the Society of Friends. He was much interested in Adult School and Boy Scout work at Sheffield, and in 1914 he took a commission in the York and Lancaster Regiment, and went out to Gallipoli, where he was killed. Many of his letters have been printed in *With a B.-P. Scout in Gallipoli, A Record of the Belton Bulldogs*. (London: Routledge, 7½ by 5, pp. 312, with 38 illustrations, 6s. net.) Sir R. Baden Powell tells us in his Foreword that Priestman "practised to the full" the requirements of "successful soldiering." The author suggested that the file of his letters should be entitled: "Huns in the Making, or the Belton Bulldogs," a curious title, printed large on the page of Preface. The letters are cleverly written. There is no indication of the religious atmosphere which we are told pervades the army at the Front.

The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History was set on foot in September, 1915, and *The Journal of Negro History* has now completed its first year's quarterly issues (Lancaster, Pa.: 41 North Queen Street; and Washington, D.C.: 1216 You Street, N.W. \$1.00 a year).

¹ London: Headley, 7½ by 5, pp. 256, thirty-four illustrations, 3/6 & 2/6 net.

Vol. I. runs to 450 pages, 10 by 7; each part divides itself into four—Articles, Documents, Reviews of Books, and Notes. In the last part (i. 4, October, 1916) there are references to letters to Dorothy Ripley (1767-1831) when in America in 1803; extracts from the Travels of Robert Sutcliff, 1804-1806; mention of Friends of Philadelphia sending 1,000 barrels of flour for the starving city of New Orleans, 1791, and other notices of Friends' work for negroes.

We have received a copy of the *Revised Marriage Rules, adopted by Philadelphia Y.M.* (Arch Street), 1916. The marriage of first cousins is still prohibited, but concessions have been made in reference to that of non-members, which may now take place in Meeting. Members marrying "in other way than in accordance with the regulations of the Discipline" may be retained in membership according to the decision of the M.M. if they desire so to continue and are "in a good degree of unity with our principles."

The Times (Literary Supplement) for 16th November has reviews of two works prepared by Friends—Dr. Thomas Hodgkin's "Italy and her Invaders," second edition, and John Bellows's French Dictionary, third edition. Each has been issued under the care of a son of its author.

From Isaac Mason, of the Christian Literature Society, Shanghai, we have received the following pieces of literature in Chinese:

A Reasonable Faith, in Reply to Agnosticism, by Angus Mackay, B.A., Edinburgh, translated and adapted by Isaac Mason; *The Progress of Democracy, or, Parliament and the People*, four lectures by J. H. B. Masterman, translated by Isaac Mason; *The Federation of the World*, by Benjamin F. Trueblood, LL.D., translated by Isaac Mason and Lo Yung-Sheng; *The Life of William Penn, Founder of Pennsylvania*, by Isaac Mason, with a reproduction of West's picture of the Treaty; *War or Peace? a dramatic dialogue*, translated by Isaac Mason.

Also kindly sent by Isaac Mason, *The Worship of God*, written by him, printed at the Presbyterian Mission Press, and published by the F.F.M.A., China.

* Our readers who wish to follow the work of Friends' War Victims' Relief in Russia should read *The People who Run*. (London and New York: Putnam, 7½ by 5, pp. 176, 2s. 6d. net).

The last presidential address of the F.H.S.—*Friends in Public Life*, by President Sharpless, of Haverford College, Pa., U.S.A., has been reprinted and can be obtained from Headley Brothers, Kingsway House, London, W.C. (or through Friends' Bookshop, 140, Bishopsgate, London, E.C.) at twopence each, 1s. 6d. per doz., 12s. per 100. American orders may be sent to Friends' Book and Tract Committee, 144 East 20th Street, New York, N.Y.

* = not in D.

The Tablet of July 22nd, 1916, contains an article signed Everard Meynell, on Perceval Drewett Lucas (1879-1916), born a Friend, became a Roman Catholic, enlisted in the Great War, was wounded at Fricourt, July 1st, and died at Abbeville, July 6th. He was the author of several genealogical and historical works, and brother of Edward Verrall Lucas, the writer.

* It is indicative of the widespread knowledge of the work of the Friends' War Victims' Relief Committee that a reference to it without explanation should appear in a non-Quaker novel. The following sentence occurs in Rose Macaulay's *Non-combatants and Others* (London and New York: Hodder and Stoughton, 1916):

"She had gone there from France, where she had been helping the Friends to reconstruct. She was not a Friend herself, not holding with institutional religion, but she admired their ready obedience to the constructive impulse" (p. 21).

The Friends' Messenger (Clara I. Cox, High Point, N.C.) is now in its twenty-third year. Its subtitle is: "A Monthly Periodical for the Spread of the Gospel through the Instrumentality of the Society of Friends of the North Carolina Yearly Meeting."

* "W. E. Quakerson" whose first novel has recently been published [London: Heath, Cranton, 7½ by 5, pp. 304, 6s. net], is, as might be guessed, a Friend. In *The New Prospero* we have a very modern version, with many variations, of the Shakesperean story, in which the magic of the 'Tempest's' master has its counterpart in the great wealth of the modern Prospero. By its means, the latter influences the destinies of the rulers of a small state in the Near East, though there are other and still more powerful influences which finally change its government entirely. There is a charming Miranda, and a rather weak Ferdinand, who gets more than his deserts. The story is brightly and vivaciously told, and there is an original scheme for the manufacture of kingship."
—*The Friend* (Lond.), 10th November, 1916.

* "I was more impressed by John Bright's speaking than by that of anyone else. It struck me as being so quiet and dignified, and more like being spoken to in a convincing way, than as being a display of eloquence. I remember once when Lady Ossington asked me to come with her to the House to hear him, Mrs. John Bright was there too, and was constantly sending messages to her husband, by a young man, before he began to speak."—From *Zoe Thompson of Bishopthorpe*, by E. C. Rickards, 1916.

* A Quaker farmer and a Radical named Braithwaite appears frequently in *The Tutor's Story*, novel partly written by Charles Kingsley and finished by his daughter, "Lucas Malet" (London: Smith, Elder, 7½ by 5, pp. 371, 6s. net), but his Quakerism is very weak.

A volume of 727 pages devoted to one locality presents a striking illustration of thorough and careful research. The late Miss M. Louisa Armitt (d. 1916), of Rydal Cottage, Westmorland, has done this in her recent work, *Rydal*—a book which she completed in 1911 and is now published under the editorship of Willingham F. Rawnsley, M.A. (Kendal : Titus Wilson, 9 by 5½, pp. 727, and 15 illustrations, 12s. 6d.). There are several direct references to Friends, but some are obscured by their omission from the insufficient Index, as *e.g.*, Gervase Benson (pp. 486, 487), William Ball (p. 437), and Reg. Holme (pp. 277, 278), Quakers (p. 433); other persons who came into contact with Friends appear, as *e.g.*, Sir Daniel Fleming, Sir Jordan Crosland, Sir Joseph Williamson.

* The following is from a review in *The Land Union Journal* for December, 1916, of Montague Fordham's "English Rural Life," London : Allen, 2s. 6d. net :

"Mr. Fordham seems on less sure ground when dealing with the religious side of rural life. He says that not much is known of Wycliffe or John Ball.¹ The latter is rather a hazy figure, but Lollardism has surely had in recent years a great deal of penetrating and accurate scholarship devoted to it. Elsewhere the slight references to Quakerism and Independency seem to suggest a concurrent rise, or even that Quakerism preceded Independency. But the historian, of course, cannot well explain the rise of the Friends, except as a rebound from a Puritanism that had lost its freshness and virility. Quakerism did not really make itself felt appreciably until almost the second half of the seventeenth century."

The following issues of the F.F.M.A. Jubilee Biographical series have appeared : *Rachel Metcalfe* (1828-1889), by Caroline W. Pumphrey ; *Theophilus Waldmeier* (1832-1915), by Dr. R. Hingston Fox ; *William and Lucy Johnson*, by John Sims ; *George Swan*, by Frederick Sessions, F.R.G.S. ; *Watson Grace*, by Herbert H. Catford. The price is two-pence for each, 32 pp., illustrated, from the Friends' Foreign Mission Association, 15, Devonshire Street, Bishopsgate, London, E.C.

M. Catharine Albright has written *A Short Sketch of the History, Growth and Prospects of the Friends' Industrial Mission, Pemba*, to be obtained for one penny each at the office of the Mission, 15, Devonshire Street, Bishopsgate, London, E.C.

The Earlham College Bulletin for August, 1916 (vol. xiii., no. 5), contains "The First Who's Who among Earlhamites," from 1847, with portraits of Presidents—Barnabas Coffin Hobbs, 1867, 1868 ; Joseph Moore, 1868-1883 ; Joseph John Mills, 1884-1903 ; Robert Lincoln Kelly, since 1903.

* *Kalendar of the War*, by M. Sturge Gretton, a daughter of the late Marshall Sturge, of Charlbury, Oxon. (London : Nisbet, 9½ by 7½, pp. 122 ; printed by John Bellows, of Gloucester.) It is described as "a Kalendar of the last hundred and seventeen weeks, with readings appro-

¹ For John Ball, see *The Ploughshare*, for February, 1916.

priate to these weeks, and spaces for a chronicle of private names and events."

The Red Cross in France, by Granville Barker (London and New York: Hodder, 7½ by 5, pp. 168, 2s. 6d. net), contains a chapter of thirty pages, entitled "Among the Friends."

The Origin of the Cult of Aphrodite, by Dr. J. Rendel Harris (Manchester: University Press; London and New York: Longmans, 10½ by 6½, pp. 30, nine plates. 1s.). Reprinted from "The Bulletin of the John Rylands Library," Oct.-Dec., 1916, in which Bulletin there are other articles by Dr. Harris.

Recent Accessions to D.

IN addition to the unstarred literature introduced under the heading "Friends and Current Literature," the following items have been added to D. during the last few months:

Religion and Science: A Philosophical Essay, by John Theodore Merz, author of "A History of European Thought in the Nineteenth Century." Dr. Merz (b. 1840) married, in 1873, Alice Mary Richardson, daughter of Edward and Jane Richardson, and sister of John Wigham Richardson and Mrs. Spence Watson. He is a Ph.D. of Leipsig, D.C.L. of Durham, and LL.D. of St. Andrews. He is not in membership with Friends, but attends the Meeting at Newcastle-on-Tyne. Other information may be found in Percy Corder's "Robert Spence Watson" 1914, and in George B. Richardson's "John Wigham Richardson," 1911.

William Penn and his Holy Experiment, by Allen C. Thomas, second edit., Phila., 1896.

Two reprints of articles by our Friend, A. Stanley Eddington, taken from *Scientia* (Bologna: Zanichelli; and London: Williams and Norgate) have been received: "Star-Streams," from vol. viii. (1910), and "The Stellar Universe as a Dynamical System," from vol. xviii. (1915.)

Also a reprint from *The Transactions of the Victoria Institute*, 1915, "The Movements of the Stars." Stanley Eddington, M.A., F.R.S., is Plumian Professor of Astronomy in the University of Cambridge.

The London Yearly Meeting Epistle of 1916 has been reprinted in English by the Canadian Methodist Mission Press of Chengtu, China. It has also been done in Chinese, and in German.

By the kindness of Allen C. Thomas, consulting librarian of Haverford College, Pa., twenty issues of the proceedings of Baltimore Y.M. (Park Avenue), ranging from 1825 to 1869, have been added to the Reference Library.

John Brown among the Quakers, by Irving B. Richman, of Muscatine, Iowa. Des Moines, 1904.

Three lectures on Friends in Darlington, by John William Steel, Mary Anna Hodgkin and Jonathan B. Hodgkin. (See *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, 1917.)

Memoirs of Catharine Seely [1799-1838] and *Deborah S. Roberts* [1802-1838], late of Darien, Connecticut. New York, 1844.

The Fruits of Silence, by Cyril Hopher. Macmillan, 1915.

The Story of the Ram Allah Mission, by Rosa E. Lee, 1912, sent by Sarah J. Swift, West Falmouth, Mass.

Manuscript account of the Women's Yearly Meeting of London, 1856, presented by Isaac Sharp, B.A.

The Sedbergh School Register, 1546 to 1895, by B. Wilson, 1895.

Do Plants Think? by Ellwood Cooper, Santa Barbara, California, U.S.A., 1916.

A little volume, to be named *Gulson MSS.*, containing copies of letters, dated 1697 to 1723, written by Mary, wife of Dr. William Gulson, of Coventry, and by Margery, wife of John Peters, of St. Minvers, from 1702 to 1707; also a letter "from William Payne, when at Harrogate to a young woman then there with whom he had some religious conversation in the year 1768." Attached to this little book was, at one time, a copy of a letter from William Penn to Margaret Fox in 1677 (another copy of this letter is in D.). Presented by Joseph J. Green.

A Lover of Books—Life and Literary Papers of Lucy Harrison (1844-1915) by Amy Greener. (London: Dent; and New York: Dutton, 8 by 5½, pp. 318, with illustrations, 5s. net.)

Henry Glisson's *True and Lamentable Relation of the most desperate death of James Parnel*, 1656, copied by A. Kemp Brown from the printed tract in the British Museum, and presented by him.

Bellows's *French Dictionary*, pocket size, 3rd ed., 1916; School 2nd ed., 1914, and 3rd ed., 1916, presented by the Proprietors.

With a Prehistoric People, the Akikuyu of British East Africa, by W. Scoresby Routledge and Katherine Routledge, London, 1910, pp. xxxii. + 392, and many illustrations, presented by Mrs. Routledge, *née* Pease of Darlington.

Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, 1915-16.

The War in Wexford: An Account of the Rebellion in the South of Ireland in 1798, by H. F. B. Wheeler, and A. M. Broadley, London, 1910, pp. xvi. + 343.

American Notes

The International Studio for November contains eight illustrations of etchings by Robert Spence, R.E., "one of the best of living English etchers of genre." His favorite period is the seventeenth century life in England, and the characters he best loves are Isaac Walton, Oliver Cromwell, Samuel Pepys and George Fox. Being himself a Quaker, George Fox attracts him strongly. The two pictures given here are "George Fox and the Lady," and "George Fox in Carlisle Prison." His workmanship shows much beauty of detail and depth of color. Quotations from Fox's Journal in old printing letters, add much to the pictures and harmonize with them.

Other pictures illustrated are: "Isaac Walton," "Pepys and the Ships," "King Charles II. and Pepys," "Vanderdecken," "The Vale," "The Bearskin." The two etchings of Pepys are very attractive, full of detail, and in this respect equalling a page of the famous diary from which their subject is taken.

Appleton & Co., of New York, advertise a biography: *Elizabeth Fry, the Angel of the Prisons*, written by Laura E. Richards, illustrated, price \$1.35. L. E. Richards is a daughter of Julia Ward Howe.

Harper and Brothers advertise *The Years of My Youth*, a delightful autobiography of William Dean Howells, "our most distinguished man of letters." A picture of his boyhood and early years in an Ohio town. Crown 8vo. Price \$2.00.

It is perhaps not generally known that Mr. Howells is of Quaker ancestry, and Friends are indebted to him for his sympathetic introduction to the Journal of Thomas Ellwood, which gave it a wider reading than it otherwise would have had.

The *Atlantic Monthly* for November contains an article on "The Conscientious Objector," by Henry W. Nevins, who, while not himself so classed, feels the government is mistaken in not following the words and intentions of their own Act framed and intended to grant absolute exemption to such objectors. He ends by saying: "And besides, what if he should be right after all? What if his path (hard though it can be made) should prove the beginning of the straightest path to the far-off salvation of man?"

The *Atlantic Monthly* announces "The Inward Light" as one of the topics for the coming year.

J. B. Lippincott Company (Montreal, Philadelphia, and London) advertise Joseph Pennell's *Pictures of the Wonder of Work*, sketches by the "master-draftsman" of the building of railway stations, skyscrapers and of giant ships, etc., with short descriptions by the artist. Price \$2.00. Joseph Pennell is a Friend of Germantown, Pa.

West Grove, Pa.

ELLA K. BARNARD.

Notes and Queries

KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

D.—Friends' Reference Library, Devonshire House, 136, Bishopsgate, London, E.C.

Camb. Jnl.—*The Journal of George Fox*, published by the Cambridge University Press, 1911.

JOURNAL OF MARGARET WOODS.

—The seven volumes of the original Diary, in manuscript, of Margaret Woods, have recently come into the possession of the Society, as a gift from her great-grand-daughters, Elizabeth and Alice Woods, of Woburn Sands. The years covered are 1771 to 1821, and there are numerous contemporary references to visits of ministering Friends and matters of family interest. In 1829 John and Arthur Ash published a volume of 500 pages, containing *Extracts from the Journal of the late Margaret Woods*, and a second edition appeared in the following year. An American reprint was brought out by Henry Longstreth, of Philadelphia, in 1850. All three editions are in D. Practically all the personal references in the original have been omitted in the printing.

Margaret Woods (1748-1821) was a daughter of Samuel and Grizell (Gurnell) Hoare, of London. She married, in 1769, Joseph Woods (d. 1812), woollen-draper, of White Hart Court, Gracechurch Street. Her niece, Sarah Hoare (1777-1856), writes: "My Aunt Woods, who married a man of small fortune, and had bad health, was her mother's great favourite." (*Memoirs of Samuel Hoare*, London, 1911.)

MEETING ANNIVERSARIES (xiii., 42, 84).—To those previously noted may be added: *A Sketch of "Old Town" Meeting House, Baltimore . . . as read on its One Hundredth Anniversary*, 1881; bi-centenary of Woodbury Meeting, N.J., 1915, reported in *The Friend* (Phila.), 1915, and in the *Bulletin of the F.H.S. of Philadelphia*, 1915; centenary *Celebration of Whitewater Monthly Meeting*, Ind., 1909.

TONES IN PREACHING (xiii. 124).—A. Neave Brayshaw sends the following quotation from Samuel Bownas's *Qualifications of a Gospel Minister*, 1750, p. 41:

"Though the Matter delivered by thee may differ from that of another, whose Doctrine thou mayst think more acceptable and in more apt Terms, which may tempt thee to imitate him; this will bring an Uneasiness and a Cloud over thy Mind; therefore keep to thy own Way, both in thy Opening and delivering thereof, guarding against all affected Tones of singing or sighing, and drawing out thy Words and Sentences beyond their due length, and by speaking too much in a Breath, and so adding an Ah! to the end of them, and drawing thy Breath with such a Force and

Groan, as will drown thy Matter, and render thee unacceptable to thy Hearers; likewise guard against superfluous Words, impertinently brought in, such as I may say; As it were; All and every one; Dear Friends; and Friendly People, with sundry others of the like kind, which add nothing to thy Matter, spoiling its coherence and Beauty of Expression."

BURIED LIKE A DOG.—"1695[6] March 15. John Waring for his honestly living I cannot but mention among y^e Christian dead, who was by his relations put ith ground lik a dog in y^e Quakers meeting house yard. Rogues!"

From the Church of England Register at Shipston-on-Stour, Worcestershire. Sent by Richard Savage, Stratford-on-Avon.

BREAKING UP MEETINGS (xiii. 84). Allen C. Thomas writes from Haverford, Pa: "So far as I have observed, while still customary on the 'high seats' in Philadelphia and Baltimore Yearly Meetings, it is not usual for those on the other forms." Do Whittier's lines embody a poetical licence?

Was the first Baron Dimsdale (1712-1800) a Friend?

REMOVALS TO PENNSYLVANIA.—At a Preparative Meeting held at Marsden Height, Lancashire, 13 ix. 1698, Henry Mitchel, Robert Brewer, Henry Whalley and John Baldwin, junior, obtained leave to "lay their Intentions of Removal into Pennsylvania" before the next Monthly Meeting.

MARTYRDOM OF MARY DYER.—Samuel Dyer, a grandson of Mary Dyer, who suffered death in Boston in the year 1660, owned and occupied the farm in the town of Newport, Rhode Island, on which she had long lived; and he died there in the year 1767, at an advanced age, a man of good character and exemplary life and conversation. During his life the legislature of the province of Massachusetts Bay, of which Boston was the capital, took into consideration the circumstances of her death; and being informed that one of her descendants was living, sent a deputation of their body to confer with him on that occasion: they represented that they deeply regretted the conduct of their ancestors, or predecessors, in putting his ancestor to death; and desired to know what compensation or satisfaction they could make; and offered to do what might be required in that way. He received them courteously and told them he was sensible of the good feelings and worthy motives which had actuated the Legislature in making the offer; but that no compensation could be made; he could accept nothing as the price of blood; that their sense of the injury and injustice committed, exemplified by their acknowledgment, was sufficient; and he freely forgave all the actors in that dismal catastrophe.

From a MS. in D., endorsed:

Copied from

T. Shillitoe's Scrap Book.

BAPTISM.—Baptized. 1783. Apr. 20. Benjamin Court, a Quaker, aged about fourscore

years.—Registers of St. Nicholas, Warwick.

MABEL WIGHAM'S JOURNALS (1762-1776).—Mabel Wigham, of Coanwood, Northumberland, was the daughter of Cuthbert Wigham, a convinced Friend and Minister, and founder of that well-known Meeting, and the Quaker family bearing his name still resident there, and till lately at Edinburgh, etc.

Mabel Wigham was born *circa* 1729, and died in 1781, aged 52, having been a Minister some twenty-five years. Her husband, apparently a cousin, was Thomas Wigham, of Limestone, Coanwood. Of her is an account in *Piety Promoted* and a Testimony at Devonshire House.

Not long before her death she communicated the above Journals to Solomon Chapman, of Sunderland, who lent them to Elizabeth (Dearman) Robson, a Minister, of Sunderland, and widow of Edward Robson, the botanist, of Darlington.

Elizabeth Robson transcribed these Journals, which are somewhat fragmentary, during the winter of 1833-34, to the best of her ability; and they came into possession of her daughter, Mary Edward Backhouse, of Ashburne, Sunderland, and later into that of her great-grand-daughter as well as grand-niece, Lucy E. Mounsey, of Sunderland, by whom they were given to Joseph J. Green, of Hastings, in 1916. By him they were indexed; and the references to persons and places, besides a great many repeated several times, amount to nearly a thousand. He has also mostly transcribed the Journals again and indexed them.

So far as he is able to discover by communication with the Wighams of Coanwood, no copy of Mabel Wigham's Journals is otherwise known, and it is to be feared that the originals are lost.

Elizabeth Robson's copy consists of some eighty-eight closely written quarto pages. The Journals are very interesting, relating to ministerial journeys in County Durham, Scotland, Cumberland, Yorkshire, Westmorland, Lincolnshire, Norfolk, Essex, London, Lancashire, Ireland, etc. The reference to many Friends not named in other Quaker Journals is particularly valuable. One of Mabel Wigham's companions on a lengthy journey to Norfolk, Essex and Lincoln, was Esther Maud, wife of William Tuke of York.

Elizabeth Robson's copy of the Journals has been presented to Devonshire House Reference Library by the kindness of Joseph J. Green.

DANIEL QUARE AND THE BAROMETER (ix. 173; x. 43).—*Calendar of State Papers (Domestic)*, William and Mary, 1694-95, p. 395. Feby. 24/1695. Warrant for letters patent to Daniel Quare to have the sole use and benefit for fourteen years, of his invention of a portable barometer which may be removed to any place, though turned upside down, without spilling one drop of the quicksilver or letting any air into the tube, although the air shall have the same liberty to operate on it as on those common ones now in use, with respect to the weight of the atmosphere.

S.P.Dom. Warrant Book, 37.

BELLOW'S FRENCH DICTIONARY.

William Bellows, Eastgate Press, Gloucester, has kindly sent, as requested, the following particulars of his father's French Dictionary :

Pocket Format.

First edition (I believe it consisted of 6,000 copies) was published in 1872. The type was then re-set for the

Second edition, embodying additions and improvements, brought out in 1876. This second edition was reprinted many times from standing type, the difference between the succeeding issues being a matter of alterations in minor details—fresh words added from time to time : so that, generally speaking, although the various reprints all bear the mark "Second edition," they vary in some degree as between themselves.

Third edition, published in the summer of 1916. By adding one type-line to the depth of each page of the dictionary proper, and eliminating obsolete matter, and condensing certain items, room has been found to add a large amount of up-to-date material which had not previously appeared. This third edition starts at the one hundred and first thousand.

School or Crown 8vo. Edition.

First edition (of 5,500 copies) appeared in the last days of 1910.

Second edition, containing alterations and additions, 1913.

Third edition, containing further additions, published summer, 1916. The first issue of this third edition completes the twentieth thousand of the Cr. 8vo size.

xii. 1916.

W. BELLOW'S.

A FRIEND AND A WAR SONG.—

In *Just a Few "Friends,"* by Mary J. Taber, of New Bedford, Mass., privately printed in 1907, we read, under the heading "War Topics":

"It was a Hicksite Friend who wrote the popular war song, chanted by so many Union soldiers on so many a weary march in the Civil War: 'We are coming, Father Abraham, three hundred thousand more.'"

This Friend was James Sloan Gibbons, son-in-law of Isaac Tatem Hopper (1771-1852), who was the well-known abolitionist, of New York (*Life*, by L. Maria Child, 1853). By the kindness of Mary J. Taber, a news-clipping from a Boston paper has reached us, which gives the words of the song and an account of its genesis:

Three Hundred Thousand More.

By James S. Gibbons.

(July, 1862.)

We are coming, Father Abraham,
three hundred thousand more,
From Mississippi's winding stream
and from New England's shore ;
We leave our ploughs and work-
shops, our wives and children
dear,

With hearts too full for utterance,
with but a silent tear ;

We dare not look behind us, but
steadfastly before :

We are coming, Father Abraham,
three hundred thousand more !

If you look across the hilltops that
meet the Northern sky,

Long moving lines of rising dust
your vision may descry ;

And now the wind, an instant,
tears the cloudy veil aside,

And floats aloft our spangled flag,
in glory and in pride,

And bayonets in the sunlight
gleam and bands brave music
pour :

We are coming, Father Abraham,
three hundred thousand more !

If you look all up our valleys
where the growing harvests
shine,

You may see our sturdy farmer
boys fast forming into line ;

And children from their mother's
knees are pulling at the weeds,

And learning how to reap and sow
against their country's needs ;

And a farewell group stands
weeping at every cottage door :

We are coming, Father Abraham,
three hundred thousand more !

You have called us, and we're
coming, by Richmond's bloody
tide

To lay us down for Freedom's sake,
our brothers' bones beside,

Or from foul treason's savage
grasp to wrench the murderous
blade,

And in the face of foreign foes its
fragments to parade.

Six hundred thousand loyal men
and true have gone before :

We are coming, Father Abraham,
three hundred thousand more !

In the year 1862, a Massachusetts regiment was marching down Broadway. There was no music of a band and the rhythm of the men's feet was the only sound. It became a musical measure in the ear of James S. Gibbons, who was keeping pace with the regiment, and the words fitted themselves to the echo of their steps.

Entering a friend's office, he repeated the unwritten lines and, the friend urging him to do so, sent the manuscript to the *Atlantic Monthly Magazine*.

The poem was returned as not adapted to their pages.

As a frequent contributor to the columns of the *Evening Post*, Mr. Gibbons carried the poem to the office and it was printed without his name. Later, the editor, William Cullen Bryant, was appealed to by an officer of an Ohio regiment for the privilege of changing the words "our wives and children dear," on the ground that his company was composed entirely of unmarried men.

Mr. Bryant appealed to Mr. Gibbons to allow him to make the change, without disclaiming the authorship. Hence arose the confusion which has always existed. Not only original copies in Mr. Gibbons's handwriting, but other abundant proof can be produced in support of this statement.

S.H.E.

[The song was published in the *New York Evening Post* for July 16th, 1862. It was written by James Sloan Gibbons. He never disclaimed the authorship. His wife was a daughter of Isaac T. Hopper.]

ROBERT PROUD (1728-1813).—Robert Proud was born at a "farmhouse, Low Foxton, near Crathorne, in the north part of Yorkshire, England, likewise a little more than the same distance from Yarm," May 10th, 1728. Son of William and Ann (Hedley) Proud, who removed about 1710 or '11 to a place called Wood-End, two or three miles north from Thirsk. Went to school to David Hall of Skipton. Took shipping from Scarborough in 1750 for London. Resided there for a time with

Joseph Taylor. "By the advice and recommendation of my friend and relative, Dr. John Fothergill, of London, I applied myself to further improvements in some part of learning and science." Was introduced into the families of Silvanus and Timothy Bevan; was a tutor to the sons of the latter.

Removed to Pennsylvania in the latter part of 1758.

Sailed from Portsmouth, "10th Mo. 22, and first of the week."

"1759, 1 mo. 3. After a stormy passage . . . arrived at Lewistown, on or near Delaware Bay, where M[ordecai] Yarnall and myself went on shore . . . and from thence by land we two arrived at M. Yarnall's house in Philadelphia on the 6th of the same month."

"Near two years after my arrival in America in 1st mo. 3, 1759, aforesaid, I undertook on the 11th of 9 mo. 1761, the Public Latin School of Friends in Philadelphia [now, 1916, the William Penn Charter School]. In which station I continued till 9 mo. 11, 1770, about 9 years when I resigned it. From that time till 4 mo. 24th, 1780, the space of 9 years and 7 months, I was partly employed in trade with my brother John Proud from England, and partly during the distraction of the Country here, engaged, at the particular request of some Friends in compiling and writing the History of Pennsylvania, in my retirement,—a laborious and important work."

Taken from the Autobiography of Robert Proud, *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* vol. 13 (1889), pp. 430-440.

This Autobiography which was first printed as above, is the source of all notices of Proud which I have seen. ALLEN C. THOMAS.

LIBERATION OF SLAVES.—On the liberation of their slaves by Friends in America:

(a) What was the total value of the property of which they divested themselves?

(b) What was the effect on their social and economic position? Were any families reduced thereby to actual want?

(c) Did the loss of property involve loss of leisure, of opportunities for education, of culture and of intellectual activity?

WILFRID GRACE.

In reply to Wilfrid Grace's note. I am not aware of any statistics in regard to the losses of Friends or their deprivations of various kinds. Stephen B. Weeks's *Southern Quakers and Slavery* is the only book that I know of that has treated on the effect of slavery on Friends, and that does not give statistics asked for. I doubt if any exist, or indeed were ever estimated.

I can give what occurred in my own family in a general way. My father's father, John Chew Thomas, of Maryland, emancipated in 1812 about 133 negro slaves. As nearly as I can recollect I was told the value was about \$50,000 or 10,000 pounds sterling. Of course money was worth more then. He so lost caste in the neighboring country round that he felt obliged to change his place of residence, and he not only lost his capital invested in slaves but sold his plantation at a low figure, so

the total loss made him a man in moderate circumstances instead of a wealthy one. Doubtless there were a number of other instances. I possess a number of the original manumission papers. He found homes for most of his former slaves in Pennsylvania, which had become a free State. I saw one of the manumitted slaves when a young man.

ALLEN C. THOMAS.

PAYABLE AT MARRIAGE.—I have come across what appears to be a curious custom in these parts but about which I can gain no information. Wensleydale Preparative Meeting, held at Bainbridge (Yorkshire), 2nd of First Month, 1725, deals with it as follows:

"For further explaining some further minutes in this book relating to John Routh & Tho. Robinson their Imprudent bargain for some cattle which the s^d John had bought of Thomas payable at the day of the s^d Thomas Marriage which when the thing came to Fr^{ds} knowledge several of them became uneasy about it. As believing such bargains to be inconsistent with Righteousness & equality which Truth would lead people to, whereupon several fr^{ds} laboured with them both privately & also publicly in Monthly Meeting in order to have them put an end to it after some more equitable way (viz) for John to pay an equal value for the cattle in Redy money & Thomas to accept it as being more honorable as well as just. Which after some time the s^d John was prevailed with so far as to tell Thomas he would give him so much redy money which was judged by some

persons who had seen the beasts to be the full worth of them, but Thomas having gotten bond for performing their contract seems to slight fr^{ds} advice & stands at some distance, which fr^{ds} cannot but blaine him for. Furthermore it is the earnest desire & request of fr^{ds} under a sence of Truths reputation amongst men that for the future All such bargains as are made payable at the day of any persons marriage are to be wholly avoided by friends, otherwise they will be treated as persons slighting wholesome advice."

ALFRED ROWNTREE.
Cotescue, Middleham, Yorks.

WILLIAM JACKSON PALMER.—
"It is probably not generally known that the founder of Colorado College, at Colorado Springs [U.S.A.], William Jackson Palmer [1836-1909], was a member of Race Street Monthly Meeting, Philadelphia, and was a man at the same time of great wealth, generous nature and high ideals. It has been said of him that 'no other member of the Society of Friends, either in England or America, has handled enterprises so extensive or achieved results so great.'"

From address by President Kelly, of Earlham College, Ind., U.S.A., on "Influence of Friends on American Education," printed in *Centennial of Whitewater Monthly Meeting*, Richmond, Ind., 1909.

There is a sketch and personal tribute to W. J. Palmer, by Isaac H. Clothier, in *Friends' Intelligencer*, 1909, p. 225, with an account of his many railroad and educational undertakings.

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THE JOURNAL

OF THE

FRIENDS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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The Golden Wedding of Longwood 1873

IN searching the poems of J. G. Whittier for the Quakeriana they contain, we became interested in his poem, "The Golden Wedding of Longwood," and through the kindness of various Friends, *per* Ella Kent Barnard, of West Grove, Pa., we have gathered particulars of this interesting event.

We are informed in the *Bi-centennial of Old Kennett Meeting House*, 1911 (page 44) that John Cox (1786-1880), fourth son of William and Lydia (Garrett) Cox, was born in Willistown Township, Chester County, Pa. He married firstly Phebe Hall and secondly, in 1823, Hannah Pennell (1797-1876), widowed daughter of Jacob and Hannah Peirce, of East Marlborough. "About 1827 they removed to E. Marlborough and their home, near Longwood Meeting, was a very important station on the Underground Railroad, and a place of entertainment for such reformers as William Lloyd Garrison,¹ Charles C. Burleigh,² Lucretia Mott,³ Fred Douglass,⁴ Theodore Parker⁵ and others."

The Golden Wedding celebration took place on the 11th of September, 1873. A record of the "exercises" has been furnished us. They commenced with the reading of letters from W. L. Garrison, John G. Whittier, and others, and also from Bayard and Marie Taylor,

then^{at} at Gotha, Germany. Poems were read by Simon Barnard, Chandler Darlington, Frances D. Gage ["not a Friend—a writer of some note"], and one by Bayard Taylor,⁶ entitled "A Greeting from Europe" (which is given here). Lucretia Mott and Mary Grew, President and Secretary of the Female Anti-Slavery Society, respectively, also took part. "Poem by John G. Whittier came too late to be read."

A GREETING FROM EUROPE

I.

These German hills of evergreen
 No longer shall enfold me ;
 The ocean-wastes that intervene
 Are powerless to withhold me :
 Where'er the heart is strongly drawn,
 There speeds Imagination,
 And both, to-day, shall give to John
 And Hannah salutation !

II.

These pastoral vales of curds and cheese,
 And milk, and whey, and rennet,
 Have disappeared : I see the trees
 And rolling fields of Kennett !
 The dusty old Philadelphia road,
 And Longwood's place of meeting,
 And then—that cheery, warm abode,
 Which claims my fondest greeting.

III.

There, as a boy, my heart and mind
 Oft fed on gentler manna,
 For John was ever firm and kind,
 And motherly was Hannah ;
 And when with hopes of higher law
 The air of home grew warmer,
 How many a preacher there I saw !
 How many a famed Reformer !

IV.

The clumps of box beside the door,
The pear-tree in the garden,
The wax-plant, spreading more and more—
Each one is Memory's warden !
Around them cling the ghosts of years,
The breath of prayer and yearning,
Though, God be praised ! the darkest fears
Have passed beyond returning.

V.

Here Lowell⁷ came, in radiant youth,
A soul of fixed endeavor ;
Here Parker spake with lips of truth,
That soon were closed for ever ;
Here noblest Whittier, scorned and spurned,
Found love and recognition ;
Here Garrison's high faith returned,
And Thompson's⁸ pure ambition !

VI.

And finer souls like foliage grew
Beside the rugged timber ;
Here sat the mild-eyed Sarah Pugh,⁹
The clear-browed Abby Kimber ;¹⁰
And here, when serpent more than dove
Drew erring Man's indictment,
Lucretia Mott, with balm of love,
Allayed the rash excitement.

VII.

Nor these alone, though all the land
Gives praise where it upbraided :
There was a sad and silent band
Your Christian courage aided :
They came in fear, yet straightway found
Food, rest, emancipation :
Their " Cox's House " was underground—
A blessed railway station.

VIII.

Whatever hope gave cheer to man,
 Whatever thought uplifted,
 You welcomed, worked and watched the plan
 Still following as it shifted.
 You bore with windy vanity
 And theories mistaken,
 Content and glad, could you but see
 One slumbering soul awaken.

IX.

Lift up your hearts ! and let us give
 Our thanks as free libations,
 So rarely comes, while yet men live,
 The crown of Toil and Patience !
 And never Fate so sweetly swerved
 From paths she loves to tread in,
 As when she gave this long-deserved
 And Golden Year of wedding !

X.

Thank God ! the steadfast soul that strives
 Shall not be disappointed ;
 Earth's simple, quiet, earnest lives
 Are royalty anointed !
 Let Samsons come, of stronger thews,
 With firebrands and with foxes,
 But may our country never lose
 Its John and Hannah Cox's !.

BAYARD TAYLOR.

Gotha, Germany.

Aug. 21st, 1873.

Whittier's poem is to be found in his collected works ;
 the following verses are of historical interest :

" The fire-tried men of Thirty-eight, who saw with me
 the fall,
 Midst roaring flames and shouting mob, of Pennsylvania
 Hall ; "

" And they of Lancaster¹² who turned the cheeks of
tyrants pale,
Singing of freedom through the grates of Moyamensing
jail !

" And haply with them, all unseen, old comrades, gone
before,
Pass silently, as shadows pass, within your open door—

" The eagle face of Lindley Coates,¹³ brave Garrett's¹⁴
daring zeal,
The Christian grace of Pennock,¹⁵ the steadfast heart
of Neal.¹⁶"

There is an account of J. and H. Cox, with portraits, in
Smedley's *History of the Underground Railroad*, 1883.

Longwood was the centre of the activities of " Progressive Friends." In 1853 " a number of persons, largely of the Society of Friends, deeply impressed with the need for more active exertions in the cause of humanity and morality, began to hold meetings for the propagation of their views, in which they were assisted by prominent philanthropists from other parts of the country. . . . The name of ' Progressive Friends ' speaks at once of their origin and of their central idea of progress in whatever could benefit humanity. From the farm of John Cox in East Marlborough [called Longwood Farm], a piece of ground was donated by the owner and here they erected Longwood Meeting House. Since 1853 a Yearly Meeting has been held, at which have gathered such well-known humanitarians as Lucretia Mott, Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Theodore Parker, Frederick Douglass, Oliver Johnson¹⁷, Charles C. Burleigh, Mary Grew, Abby Kelly Foster¹⁸ . . . In connection with the meeting a cemetery was laid out. . . ." (Futhey and Cope, *History of Chester County*, 1881, p. 242.)

The meeting-house was dedicated by a sermon from Theodore Parker. Mrs. Chace writes of these Friends in 1867 as " old Garrisonian Abolitionists, formerly Hicksite Friends " (*Elizabeth B. Chase*, 1914, i. 302). Conferences on philanthropic subjects have been held annually, except

in 1861; for the 1916 meeting see *Friends' Intelligencer*, 1916, p. 428. *Proceedings of the Pennsylvania Yearly Meeting of Progressive Friends* have been issued from 1853 to 1904-1905 (many in D); the report for 1891 gives the early history of the movement, written by Edith Pennock.

NOTES

¹ William Lloyd Garrison (1804-1879), one of the foremost anti-slavery workers in America; editor of *The Liberator*. He was born at Newburyport, Mass. and died in New York City. There is a portrait of him and many references in *Elizabeth B. Chace*, 1914, and *James and Lucretia Mott*, 1896.

² "Charles C. Burleigh was a prominent Garrisonian. He had a long beard, and he wore his auburn hair in womanish ringlets. Mobs hooted at his appearance, but, really, had it not been eccentric, it would have been extremely handsome. He was a very eloquent speaker." (*E. B. Chace*, i. 138.)

³ Lucretia Mott (1793-1880) was the daughter of Thomas and Anna Coffin of Nantucket. Her mother was a daughter of Peter Folger. Lucretia married James Mott, Jr. (1788-1868), in 1811. They attended the great anti-slavery convention in London in 1840. Mrs. Mott may be seen in Haydon's great picture of this historic gathering. Her religious views underwent some change as time passed, but her long life was spent in doing good. See *Life and Labors of James and Lucretia Mott*, 1896, and other literature.

⁴ Frederick Douglass (1817-1895), "greatest of all colored Abolitionists . . . one of the most marvelous personalities I have ever known. He was an embodied miracle" (*E. B. Chace*, i. 143). He escaped from slavery in 1839 and was a notable passenger on the Underground Railroad. See his *Autobiography*.

⁵ Theodore Parker (1810-1860), preacher and social reformer, Unitarian, but of liberal views. Died at Florence, Italy.

⁶ Bayard Taylor (1825-1878), traveller, lecturer, writer, was born in Kennett Square, Chester Co., Pa. "His career began in humble circumstances, and ended in splendor. He was raised in a Quaker atmosphere." Intro. to *Works*, 1907. In his Quaker stories "the curious crotchets and fads of the Quaker community are ridiculed and rebuked," *ibid.* In 1878 he was appointed minister to Germany, and died in Berlin. Cedarcroft was his Pennsylvanian home.

⁷ James Russell Lowell (1819-1891), poet, of Boston, Mass. Author of *Biglow Papers*. Professor at Harvard, Conn.

⁸ George Thompson (1804-1878), Anti-Slavery speaker and Spiritualist. Mentioned in association with Friends in *James and Lucretia Mott*, 1896, and in *Elizabeth Buffum Chace*, 1914, where is his portrait. Before passing to America, he was of Edinburgh, where in 1837, he wrote an Introduction, etc., to a reprint of Angelina E. Grimké's *Appeal to the Christian Women of the Slave States of America* (in D.). He was in America in 1834 and 1851. See also *D.N.B.*

⁹ Sarah Pugh was a prominent anti-slavery worker with Lucretia Mott and is frequently mentioned in her *Life and Letters*. With L. Mott, Mary Grew, Abby Kimber and Elizabeth J. Neall, she was a delegate to the World's Convention in The Freemasons' Hall, London, in 1840, but this band of noble women were relegated to the gallery as "rejected delegates."

¹⁰ Companion of Sarah Pugh in the Old World and the New. Richard D. Webb, of Dublin, wrote of them, "We have enjoyed with unabated relish the company of Sarah Pugh and Abby Kimber" (*J. and L. Mott*).

¹¹ The burning of Pennsylvania Hall by a pro-slavery mob in Philadelphia in 1838 was an outstanding event. The Hall, erected at a cost of \$43,000, was opened by a Convention which was to have lasted three days, but on the second day the Hall was a ruin. Whittier and others had narrow escapes (see *James and Lucretia Mott*; and lives of Whittier).

¹² In earlier editions "and Christiana's sons." This refers to the Christiana (Pa.) riot of 1851, following the passage of the Fugitive Slave Bill of 1850. Joseph Scarlett, Elijah Lewis of Cooperville, and J. Castner Hanway (all Friends) were arrested and imprisoned and the last named tried for treason, but all were acquitted. For a full account, see Still's *Underground Rail Road*, 1872, pp. 343-368, and Smedley's *Underground Railroad*, 1883, chap. viii.; etc.

¹³ Lindley Coates (1794-1856), of Sadsbury, Lancaster Co., Pa., was noted for his clearness of thought, soundness of judgment, and steadiness of nerve. In 1840, he became president of the American Anti-Slavery Society and was followed in the office by W. L. Garrison. (Smedley, *Underground Railroad*, 1883, many references; see *Genealogy of the Coates Family*, 1906, pp. 148-150.)

¹⁴ There is a sketch of the life of Thomas Garrett (1789-1871) with picture in Smedley's *Underground Railroad*. From 1822 he resided at Wilmington, Del. "His house being a Southern station of the Underground line was the scene of many startling and even amusing experiences. One summer evening when there was a collection of old plain Friends at the house, he was called to the kitchen, where he found a greatly terrified poor woman who had run away. . . . He took her up stairs, dressed her in his wife's clothes, with plain handkerchief, bonnet and veil and made her take his arm. They walked out of the front door where she recognised her master, as she passed. He was eagerly watching the house at the time" (*ibid.*).

¹⁵ In Jones's Abolition Rhymes Abraham L. Pennock is described as "a grave overseer."

¹⁶ Daniel Neall was a Friend, a well-known abolitionist and President of the Pennsylvania Hall Association. During the rioting which destroyed the Hall, he was tarred and feathered, though an old man. He was a large contributor to the funds of the U.R.R.

¹⁷ Oliver Johnson of New York was a signatory of the original "Call for a General Religious Conference" in 1853 and he acted as a Clerk to the Y.M. of Progressive Friends in 1856 and later.

¹⁸ Abby Kelly (-1887) was a prominent preacher of the anti-slavery gospel. In Mrs. Chace's volume of *Anti-slavery Reminiscences*, printed in 1891, she states that "Uxbridge Monthly Meeting disowned

Abby Kelly for anti-slavery lecturing although they did so, ostensibly, on some frivolous charges, which had no real foundation in fact" (*E. B. Chace*, chap. xxviii., where see portrait). She married Stephen Symonds Foster, who had, apparently, also been a Friend. Of Abby Kelly Benjamin S. Jones writes:

"Miss Kelly of Lynn,
Some esteem it a sin
And a shame that thou darest to speak,
Quite forgetting that mind
Is to sex unconfined,
That in Christ is nor Gentile nor Greek,
Abby K.
That in Christ is nor Gentile nor Greek."

New England Records

The best collection of New England Quaker records, the minutes of the New England Yearly Meeting and of the Rhode Island Quarterly, are in the library of the Moses Brown School at Providence. Others may be found at the Newport Historical Society, the New Bedford Meeting House, and the Meeting House at Lynn. All have been used again and again for local and genealogical purposes, but rarely for any general study. In every case they show so close a connection between the Quakers of Massachusetts and those of England that the records of the London Yearly Meeting and the London Meeting for Sufferings are essential for a clear understanding of what the New England Quakers of the early eighteenth century were doing.

From *Church and State in Massachusetts, 1691-1740*, by Susan Martha Reed, Ph.D., 1914.

In his efforts to protect the rights and redress the wrongs of colored people, Friend Hopper had a zealous and faithful ally in Thomas Harrison, also a member of the Society of Friends. . . . He was a lively, bustling man, with a roguish twinkle in his eye, and a humorous style of talking. Some Friends, of more quiet temperament than himself, thought he had more activity than was consistent with dignity. They reminded him that Mary sat still¹ at the feet of Jesus, while Martha was "troubled about many things."

"All that is very well," replied Thomas, "but Mary would have had a late breakfast, after all, if it had not been for Martha."

Life of Isaac T. Hopper, 1853, p. 122.

¹A transposition in the Revised Version of these two words shews the incorrectness of above exegesis, often used by Friends.

"The Hanbury Family"

BY courtesy of Frederick Janson Hanbury, F.L.S., of Plough Court, E.C., we have been able to inspect the new history of the family of Hanbury, published in two fine folio volumes by Arthur L. Humphreys, of Piccadilly, London.¹ The Quaker interest of the work is found in the second volume where appears Richard Hanbury (1610-1695/6), of Panteg and Pontymoil, co. Monmouth, the "Richard Hamborough" of George Fox's *Journal* (Camb. *Jnl.*, i. 272, ii. 120). He married, firstly, Cecilia, *ante* 1631, and secondly, *ante* 1668, Elizabeth, the "wiffe" of the *Journal*.

The following, taken from a MS. in the Bodleian (Tanner MS. xxxvii., fol. 119) is quoted in the *History* :

"A Publication of a Meeting.

"At Pontmoel tomorrow about tenn of y^e clocke where some blacke hireling priests have declared their resolution to come and preach and dispute with the Quakers for their reversion from Christ their only shepherd to follow y^e hireling priests as the blind follow the blinde untill both goe into the ditch. The black priesthood are but halfe protestants and halfe papists having pope Hildebrands black coat on his backe and pope Joane his mothers white smock on his backe, preaching in the popes temple for cursed tithes which pope Innocent the third in Henry the third's time first set up in Brittain for fattening his priests and starving y^e poor whoever giveth or receiveth tithes is in y^e Antichristian practice for the curse followeth priest and tithemonger.

"Christ fulfilled y^e law whoever upholdeth tithes denyeth Christ and so unavoidably must be of Antichrist.

"futuro majora canamus

per Ric : Hanburium de Cambria.

"Pontmoel, 5 mo., 17, 1680."

Richard the Quaker descended from the Hanburys of Hanbury, Worcestershire and later of Elmley Lovatt, his father, Philip Hanbury (1582-c. 1651), removing into Monmouthshire.

Richard's son, Richard (1647-1714), married, firstly, Katherine Ford of Thornbury, Glos., and secondly, Mary —, who survived him. His son, Charles (1677-1735), married in 1699, Grace, widow of Jenkinson Beadles and later Candy (Candia)—, who lived till 1789. From John, son of Charles and Grace (1700-1758), who established himself in London as a Virginia merchant, "well-known throughout Europe as the greatest Tobacco merchant of his day, perhaps in the world," and his wife Anne Osgood, came descendants who married into the Quaker families of Lloyd, Barclay, Gurney, Buxton, etc.

¹ This handsome and valuable work has been presented to D. by representatives of the family.

Capel (1678-1740), son of Richard and Mary Hanbury of Panteg, settled in Bristol and became the ancestor of Hanbury, of London (Clapham and Plough Court) and La Mortola, who married into the Quaker families of Beaufoy, Bell, Christy, Allen, Sanderson, Pease, Aggs.

The book contains portraits of Elizabeth (Bell) Hanbury (1756-1846); Daniel Bell Hanbury (1794-1882); Daniel Hanbury (1825-1875); his brother Sir Thomas (1832-1907), of La Mortola; Mary, daughter of William Allen, F.R.S., and first wife of Cornelius Hanbury; Wm. Allen Hanbury (1823-1898); Cornelius Hanbury (1796-1869) and Elizabeth Sanderson his wife (1793-1901); Cornelius Hanbury (1827-1916) and Frederick Janson Hanbury (1851-).

Charles Kingsley on Quakerism

" . . . You are not mistaken in supposing that I regard the Society of Friends with very deep respect & admiration. They have stood up for principles wh^{ch} all the world had forgotten & I tell you honestly, that I am growing more & more to see the deep debt humanity owes them, not only as the true apostles of education, but as the denouncers of War—the last scourge of mankind & yet the parent of seven devils worse than itself."

From a letter from Charles Kingsley (1819-1875) to Rev. Frederick Oakeley (1802-1880), Tractarian, dated Eversley Rectory, 2 May, 1867, for sale by Maggs Brothers, 109, Strand, W.C., in Catalogue 349, Autumn, 1916.

Bishop Candler, of Atlanta, apropos of worldly parsons, said the other day: "There was a worldly parson of this type in Philadelphia—a great fox hunter—whom a Spruce Street Quaker took in hand. 'Friend,' said the Quaker, 'I understand thee's clever at fox catching.'—'I have few equals and no superiors at that sport,' the parson replied.—'Nevertheless, friend,' said the Quaker, 'if I were a fox I would hide where thee would never find me.'—'Where would you hide?' asked the parson, with a frown. 'Friend,' said the Quaker, 'I would hide in thy study.'"—From the *Cheltenham Chronicle*, September 9th, 1916.

The humble, meek, merciful, just, and devout souls are everywhere of one religion; and when death has taken off the mask they will know one another, though the divers liveries they wear here makes them strangers.

WILLIAM PENN, *Reflections and Maxims*, no. 519.

Richard Smith and his Journal

1817-1824

Continued from page 25

WHAT did Richard Smith look like on his return to England ? He cannot but have been thin, after all he had gone through ; his face was shaved, for the operation is put down during the voyage : his hair had been cut in Liverpool. His dress would have a general similarity to that of Ohio Friends of the period, with modifications formed on the example of John Woolman. Being winter, he perhaps wore his "coarse drab coat" made in an "ancient manner" ; his hat was white (*i.e.* drab) or the natural colour of the fur. (*The Quaker, a Study in Costume*, page 51.)

1821.

1 mo. 1. [In Manchester] Experienced much derision during the Day.

1 mo. 3. [At Stockport] Ollive Sims⁴⁷ said I must "have my hat dyed black" on account of Radicals wearing white Hats⁴⁸ ; said "first impressions were often lasting." "Some Friends that had white Hats had them dyed." I told him I would consider on the subject, but wd not promise to have it Dyed. On turning the subject in my Mind, after I left Stockport, Ollive's reasoning was not convincing to me.

[A side note by Toft Chorley says : "At this time the public mind was greatly agitated, and O. S. might justly suppose that this distinctive badge of one party might subject R. S. to abuse from the others."]

R. S. had sometimes, during the following months, to endure derision about his hat from rude people ; looking at the question, after the lapse of a century, it seems that he was ill-advised to persist in his own view when it had been explained to him that, in this country, the hat he had worn in America was a political badge.

1 mo. 14. Met with some Derision about my Hat in the Streets of Utttoxeter.

2 mo. 1. Met with much derision about my hat at Utttoxeter, Combridge & Alton.

1821.

- 4 mo. 20. Experienced a considerable degree of mocki g & derision from some Children at Cheadle.
 4 mo. 24. Reproachfully looked upon by some at Hanchurch.

The peculiarities he had adopted from a sense of duty were very real testimonies to him ; we can but faintly estimate the cost of the trial in appearing before his relatives and acquaintance in his altered dress. (See *The Quaker*, etc., pp. 89 and 90.) No doubt, as time went on, and clothes wore out—perhaps helped by a little quiet advice from friends whose opinion he valued—he dressed like English Friends :

1822.

- 4 mo. 2. Commenced wearing New Hat after a degree of previous exercise.

The entry

- 4 mo. 6. Derided by R. Prince at Dinner, which I was favoured to bear with a good degree of calmness,

probably refers to his opinions rather than to his dress : the text is added : “ I will set a watch on my lips, while the wicked is before me.”

When R. S. returned to Staffordshire, efforts were made to engage him in business :

1821.

- 1 mo. 15. Consulted with my Father on the propriety of accepting Jas. Beech's (pr wife) proposition for me to undertake J. B.'s business, and he left me at liberty to pursue the Feelings of my own mind or what might be most conducive to my happiness ; but recommended precautionary measures should I engage it, which he did not doubt I should take.
 2 mo. 2. Shewed to Father a letter which I received in America from E. Beech and shew'd him also a copy of the answer I sent to the same relative to the offer of agency which subject he left entirely with myself. I feel easy *now* to propose the subject to C. H. when I next see him which Father wondered I did not do before.
 2 mo. 18. Samuel [Botham] ⁴⁹ strongly recommended me to enter into partnership with Brother John in the Malting line. I urged the scruple I had to sell Malt to public-houses ; upon the whole it did not feel easy to me. Yet I feel an increased desire to be near my dear Father, & to be of some service to my brother John, but the way appears rather shut up at present.
 2 mo. 19. Brother Charles stated the conversation he had had with Father about me continuing at Alton, w^{ch} felt easy to me ;

but in the end, so far as he can be said to have had any definite employment, he became a clerk in the office of his brother-in-law, Charles Heaton, an estate agent at Endon, whose house was his home, though he was constantly away at Alton and elsewhere for days at a time, especially during the few remaining months of his father's life. R. S. was a most conscientious worker, but, we must admit, a very trying employé, owing to his frequent absences during the daytime. When at Endon, he habitually worked through the evening, and far into the night, to redeem lost time : 2 a.m. was quite a usual time to leave off, and the note "worked all night," or "did not go to bed," is not uncommon. He managed to do with little sleep, and often started from the house at a very early hour.

1822.

- 6 mo. 27. Fetched Nephew from Wetton school, leaving Endon about 3 in the morning. At Meeting at Leek, the fore part of which was dry & barren. Dined at Queens Head ; returned to Endon $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 2. Garden after I returned.

The strenuous life he led gave his friends some concern :

1823.

- 1 mo. 19. At T. C.'s, who advised me not to wear myself so hard.

The annoyance felt by his brother-in-law at his frequent absences never abated : the conflict of duties and lack of sympathetic understanding was a trial to R. S. to the end of his stay at Endon ; but it cannot be denied that he was at times very provoking :

1821.

- 4 mo. 23. On mentioning my prospect to Father of attending Yearly Meeting in London this year, he expressed some disapprobation, querying why we should go all over the World to Meeting ? What induced me to enter into this way of life ?
- 8 mo. 2. Omitted going to F.M.M. at Leek this day, on account of C. H. pressing me much to stay to do his business. On weightily considering the subject, I felt easy to stay, & was favoured with great peace & serenity during the day.
- 9 mo. 25. On account of delay, some remarks made to me at night, which had a tendency to discompose my mind.

1822.

- 3 mo. 19. This morning while at Hebrew C. H. intimated if I did not go on with his work he must get somebody else.

5 mo. 14. Preparing for intended Journey [to Y. M.] to which C. H. now (as before) expressed disappointment he with others would experience, & spoke of getting some one else. I said little.

6 mo. 9. [On his return] Met with a more free reception than I expected.

1823.

1 mo. 16. Got ready to go to meeting but on urgent remonstrance of . . . and after considering, felt easy to stay at home.

At this time the life of the Society of Friends in Staffordshire was at a low ebb—the Meetings weak and the attendance often very small; “2 men Friends besides myself”—“6 women Friends and myself”—seven, six, five present at Monthly Meeting, are instances.

1821.

6 mo. 14. [Q. M. at Leek] Ann [Jones] had a strong Testimony to bear for the Meeting on its dwindled state.

9 mo. 13. [Q. M. at Newton] A Committee was appointed to visit the Monthly Meetings, which was in a great degree occasioned by the two first answers from Staffords^{re}.

A Friend of Leek, Samuel Hollinshead⁵⁰, conversed, 11th of Third Month, 1821, “on various subjects relating to Friends, particularly the great change that has taken place during his remembrance in the diminished number of Friends.” To such a weak body, the addition of a keen, well-concerned member was a support. R. S. was at once enlisted in the service of the Society, put on appointments, and sent as representative to Monthly and Quarterly Meetings, and, later, to the Yearly Meetings of 1822 and 1823; he also attended the Ackworth General Meetings in 1821 and 1823. When George and Ann Jones,⁵¹ in First Month, 1823, and Thomas and Elizabeth Robson⁵² in Eighth month, held series of public meetings throughout the district, R. S. spared himself no pains in giving notice, arranging for rooms and acting as doorkeeper. One of his first appointments has a historical interest, for it was to “keep order” at the marriage of William Howitt and Mary Botham, at Uttoxeter, on the 16th of Fourth Month, 1821.⁵³ He reported to the Monthly Meeting: “I had nothing to remark contrary to good order, except the parties getting up too soon after the certificate was read.”

It is probable that Meetings for Worship were mostly held in silence, unless visiting Friends were present; we

have no more notes of preachers and texts, but continual mention of depression and lifelessness. Again and again, R. S. records the dullness which oppressed his spirit, often caused by the drowsiness of some present; it is a common remark that he did not feel any Life arise till just at the close, or after he had left the Meeting House; was it in part his own bodily fatigue? He refers two or three times to having spoken in meeting, but was probably silent as a rule.

While his diligence in attending Meetings for Worship was so exemplary—Endon to Leek, four miles; Alton to Uttoxeter, six miles; Alton to Leek, twelve miles—the effort of attending Monthly Meetings at Stafford, and the Quarterly Meetings, when held in Cheshire, was much greater:

1821.

7 mo. 5. From Butterson about $\frac{1}{2}$ p 6, arrived at Stafford in a little more than 4 hours, calling on the way at ——— T's, Yarlet, where I left tract by R. Phillips on regeneration⁵⁴ and B. Burnett's Sentiments on Religion.⁵⁵ At F. M. M. which was dull . . . left Stafford soon after Dinner, arrived at Uttoxeter in about $3\frac{1}{2}$ hours, rode a few miles behind the Gig with S. Botham, drank tea at S. B.'s, after which departed for Alton, where I arrived about 9th hour, accomplishing about 34 miles this day.

9 mo. 6. Not been in Bed or had any Sleep last night. Departed from Endon this morning early [probably about 3], arrived at Brother Tho's, Butterson, about 6th hour, when I partook of some coffee which refreshed me; borrowed his poney, with which I proceeded to Stafford, where I arrived at half-past 10. Visited the Infirmary, where I saw Tho's Mellor,⁵⁶ to whom I gave a Testament. At F. M. M. . . . Hanley Friends request to sit together in a house was considered & minute cont^d. W. H.'s⁵⁷ manner of expression I did not think agreeable or suitable in a M. M. Departed from Stafford a little after 3^d hour, arrived at Uttoxeter at 7, drank tea, and then departed for Alton, where I arrived at 9, much wet.

On the 4th of Ninth Month 1823, T. Chorley puts the side note to a similar account: "Endon to Mo: Meeting at Stafford, returned to Endon, 49 miles." [4.30 a.m. to 9 p.m.]

1822.

9 mo. 12. Quarterly Meeting at Middlewich; from Endon 4th hour morning, Middlewich at 9; returned to Endon about 8 ("42 miles. T. C. ").

The account of the two days 12th and 13th of Twelfth Month, 1821 is another instance :

- 12 mo. 12. Departed from Alton at 6, got to Leek in $3\frac{1}{2}$ hours. At F. M. M. . . . arrived at Endon between 3 & 4. Engaged in the office till near mid Night. Omitted going to Bed the preceeding night ; Slept about 2 hours by the kitchen Fire.
- 12 mo. 13. Set off for Macclesfield about 5 ; arrived in abt $4\frac{1}{2}$ hours. At F. Q. M. . . . arrived at Endon about 8. On the whole, favoured with a degree of peace this day.

Beginning in Fifth Month, 1821, R. S. devoted much time and energy to the work of the Leek Bible Association, and to the establishment of similar societies at Alton and elsewhere. Whole days were spent in canvassing those " in easy circumstances " for subscriptions, and in visiting cottages to supply Bibles, which were sold on the instalment system of payment. The bare statement of this service, as of much other activity, gives but a feeble idea of the labour involved—of day after day of work done and visits paid to beat up interest. It is clear that his was the driving power that led to success.

The visiting of poor families was another duty faithfully fulfilled, and many calls were paid on invalids. Family affairs were put on his shoulders ; the death of his father, in Eleventh Month, 1821, entailed a great deal of executorship work : he also helped in winding up the estate of an uncle who died soon after his return to England ; and the following entries are curious :

1821.

- 4 mo. 20. At Father's request I went to Farley and assisted to collect brother Thomas's Sheep, previous to taking them away. Set off from Farley about 11th hour and arrived at Majors Barn Land near Cheadle between 2nd & 3rd hour, with all the Sheep & Lambs safe, being 23 of each sort. Returned to Alton about 5th hour.

[This was one of the occasions of derision as he went through the main street with the sheep.]

- 4 mo. 24. Employ'd in assisting to take a Drove of Cattle to my Brother's Residence ; we arrived in 7 hours, passing through Cheadle, Trentham and Hanchurch [to Butterton].

During the winter of 1821-1822, R. S. was consulted by James Dix,⁵⁸ whose affairs required regulating, and whose accounts he, apparently, reduced to order ; many visits to the house and conversations while walking together are recorded. There is one entry showing that he was engaged in advising with T. Chorley about his estate at

Haregate. He constantly mentions arranging the accounts of his brothers, so that one judges he had quite a reputation as an accountant.

There is so little mention of Toft Chorley⁵⁹ in the transcript that one can only conclude that he purposely omitted the references to himself when transcribing; for we cannot doubt T. C.'s great interest in R. S.—the epithets in George Crosfield's draft, "humility, simplicity, meekness," would be derived from T. C., since G. C. had little or no opportunity of personal knowledge. That T. Chorley should take the trouble to copy his Journal—that James Dix should take him into his confidence about his disordered affairs—that Mrs. Beech should urge him again and again to help her husband with his accounts and papers—all show the high opinion entertained of him by those who knew him.

The Journal contains many instances of his scrupulously careful consideration of all his actions :

1821.

- 1 mo. 22. [In the church at his Uncle's funeral] C. H. requested me twice to pull off my Hat which I negatived.
- 3 mo. 22. Dined at the House of the Deceased [Joseph Lay]⁶⁰ where I thought that beautiful simplicity, gravity, plainness & solidity did not prevail which is so peculiar a characteristic of the possessors of the ever blessed Truth.
- 7 mo. 18. In silent waiting this morning felt the swift witness for not looking at the Man's paper which I saw at W^m Stubbs', Bank-End, yesterday.

[Approval or disapproval ?]

- 8 mo. 20. Altered a figure in a plan (in the date) which afterwards felt uneasy to me.
- 9 mo. 12. Called at Congleton at the widow Garside & her son's, with whom I dined. Widow G. desired me to ask a blessing at Dinner, to wh^{ch} I expressed, I had not liberty.

1822.

- 8 mo. 15. Felt reproof (I trust of Instruction) after having *promised* Potter of Lichfield to send a plan within a specified time—being under circumstances not of my own controul.
- 9 mo. 9. Signed Legacy rec^t for my specific Legacy left me by my late Father, wh^{ch} had occasioned me a degree of inward exercise, but terminated in peace.

1823.

- 5 mo. 1. Monthly Meeting at Uttoxeter. Exercised last night & this morning whether it would be right for me to go—which resulted, and my peace seemed to consist, to stay away.

Newspapers are rarely mentioned and the reading of them generally accompanied by the comment that so doing tends to relax the mind for devotion.

The following paragraphs from G. Crosfield's sketch of his life would be from information obtained from T. Chorley :

When unavoidably led into company where too much levity or unbecoming conversation occurred, he was not backward to endeavour to check it, expressing his sentiments plainly, yet with diffidence, to the parties ; &, if treated with ridicule or disdain, he bore it with patience and meekness.

The keen sense he had of the sufferings of the human race, & his desire to alleviate them extended also to the animal creation ; every species of cruelty towards them gave him pain ; he could not easily be induced to travel by a stage-coach, or other public conveyance ; & even refrained from riding on horseback, when he could avoid it.

We can gauge R. S.'s own sense of his position in his family circle, and their attitude towards him by the words entered on the day of his father's funeral, " Compared myself to a speckled bird " (probably a reference to Jer. xii. 9) ; he was among them, but not of them ; his real home and his heart were among Friends, without whose society and sympathy his life would have been lonely indeed.

In Seventh Month, 1821, R. S. walked to and from Ackworth for the General Meeting, being away from home seven days ; and in 1822, to the Yearly Meeting ; the walk up, 150 miles, took seven days, and the return five. He gives a full report of the proceedings at the Meeting and a minute account of the journey up and down—mileage, halts, scenery, soil, crops are jotted down, and he records gratefully the kindness of the Friends at whose houses he stopped on the road. He again walked up to the Yearly Meeting in 1823, but that visit opened up the next and last period of his career.

R. S. did not escape illness ; he had some returns of the fever that attacked him at Zanesville in 1820 ; but he generally threw them off in a few days. Better nourishment, the exercise he took, and the open air life he led kept him in good health as a rule, in spite of exposure to all weathers.

A duty, faithfully performed in England as in Ohio, was the difficult one of private admonition of individuals :

1821.

- 8 mo. 31. Towards the close of opportunity of silent waiting this morning, it was powerfully impressed on my mind to visit Hy. W. having been exercised on this same account (sleeping in meeting) various times before, but no way seemed to open till now : praised be the Lord for his condescension to his waiting dependent children.
- 9 mo. 2. I was favoured to feel divinely strengthened & I thought well rewarded with peace for visiting H. W.
- 10 mo. 11. Had some serious conversation with [a relative who had been intoxicated the preceding day] in which I was favoured with peace ; he took the advice better than I expected.

1822.

- 2 mo. 25. Exercised this morning on account of the unnecessary expensiveness of Dress of the Children of James Dix, which I did not feel easy to let pass without communicating to him (having been exercised therewith before). Wrote a few lines to him on the subject with an injunction to " Let it go no further."
- 2 mo. 28. Ja^s received my intimation respecting his childrens dress kindly.

1823.

- 1 mo. 8. [After Ann Jones's public meeting at Endon] Noticed to — his misbehaviour in the Meeting yesterday.
- 2 mo. 15. I mention'd to — my concern at his being too much in company.

A few miscellaneous extracts, and we must leave R. S.'s Staffordshire experiences :

1821.

- 7 mo. 20. [An instance of the harsh treatment of children at the period] A hard time with little Mary at night ; put her in the cupboard.
- 8 mo. 16. A desire of late has attended my mind that I might have my hands employed, and that while they are engaged in one thing not to lose sight of the *present* by suffering the mind to dwell too much on the *future* or *next* thing that may properly claim my attention.
- [He may have had the habit of dreaming over his work, for simple little tasks are often put down as if they had occupied considerable time ; and the following entry may bear on the same subject.]
- 11 mo. 22. The utility of patient waiting in civil employment was manifested to me by which the mind & body become—the former baptised & the latter fitted for answering the end of their creation.

- 10 mo. 23. Two of C. H.'s children Mary & R^d were taken to the steeple-house to have water sprinkled on their faces, on which occasion a considerable company were collected, which I did not feel free to join at dinner, tea, or supper, in which I was favoured with peace.
- 11 mo. 27. At Leek, received a pert answer from C. Coupland's servant maid for going to the front door; she said, I should go to the Kitchen: which I did, & after some consideration, gave her a tract of "Advice to Servants," marking with a pencil over and under the words, Avoid pert answers; with which I felt peace.
- 12 mo. 3. [Being on appointment with James Dix to advise Friends about their wills, etc.] Set off for Hanley about past 12 where I arrived a little after 2. About 3 J. D. accompanied me to W. Howitt's where we sat about 2½ hours not to much satisfaction by reason of W. H. having so much of his own to offer. I felt peace in saying a few words at the last.
- 12 mo. 23. Exercised concerning the formation of a First-day School at Endon, the way to which does not seem at present to open with sufficient clearness.

1822.

- 7 mo. 10. Received a letter from brother John requesting me to go to the Shaw immediately at the desire of J. B. Felt most easy in taking brother Charles's Counsel of waiting till to-morrow, which resulted in peace.
- 7 mo. 11. [R. S. went to meeting at Leek and reached the Shaw at 4.30] Peaceful serenity felt during J. B. storming against C. H. Commenced arranging J. B.'s income account about 6; completed it. Engaged till 11 looking at & assisting in arrangement of Letters, throwing aside some.
- 7 mo. 12. Preparing Draft Schedule of Deeds & Papers; assisting J. B. to look over, label & number sundry Letters and papers. Favoured at times as I was inwardly gathered (particularly just before dinner) to feel the good presence of the Most High to be near. Mercifully favoured to feel redeemed from the least desire, love, or coveting after; may I not say a holy indifference was with me when I accompanied J. B. at night over his grounds; whilst he extolled the trees, improvements, etc., I was mostly silent.
- 9 mo. 7. Went with J. Beech into his office & Commenced to assist in the arrangement of his papers in which I continued pretty closely engaged till between 9th & 10th hour with some degree of peace.
- 9 mo. 8. Engaged at J. B. (Shaw) copying his rental, etc. from loose papers into a book, collected the same & drew up a general statement of his annual income. Continued arrangement of his papers, appointed the 14th inst. to proceed in the same (if convenient); left Shaw after tea.

1823.

- 4 mo. 27. At Leek meeting, prep: where came two persons in veils, at whose coming in my mind was painfully affected.

The following case is interesting :

1821.

- 6 mo. 7. On my way to Leek, met with William Beardmore⁴⁴ who inquired if I was not a Quaker, also when & where Friends meetings were held ; said he had never conversed with one before he saw me.
- 6 mo. 10. At Leek F. M. where W. Beardmore came for the first time. Returned most of the way with him & endeavoured to keep the mind gathered.

W. B. is often mentioned afterwards, though whether he joined the Society is not recorded : the following may indicate that he was a magistrate :

1822.

- 12 mo. 31. W. B. hat. On the way to Leek this morning, J. Curbishley mentioned a Justices' meeting that was held at Leek yesterday. W. Beardmore was there, with whom they questioned what was the matter (or to that effect). This communication was accompanied with weight to my mind.

[Apparently W. B. kept his hat on, as a Friend.]

JOHN D. CROSFIELD

To be continued

NOTES BY THE EDITOR

⁴⁴ Ollive Sims (1761-1836) was an Elder of Stockport Meeting, and a chemist and druggist by trade. In 1788, he married Sarah Phipps, of Norwich (d. 1821), and had ten children (see *F.Q.E.*, 1913—"A Quaker Medical Trio named Sims" by Joseph J. Green).

⁴⁵ Radicals began to be generally so called about 1816, and the name figured prominently in the movements in which "Orator" Hunt, Thistlewood and others played the chief parts. A clever poem setting forth the aims of these men, entitled *The White Hat*, was written in 1819 by E. L. Swifte. Henry Hunt (1773-1835), nicknamed "Orator Hunt," was a well-to-do Wiltshire farmer. In 1801 his hot temper embroiled him with the Commandant of the Wilts Yeomanry and brought him six weeks' imprisonment. He came out a hot Radical and spent the rest of his life travelling about the country. In 1819, on the occasion of the Peterloo massacre, he made a speech which cost him three years imprisonment. His hat was a white one and became the badge of his party. J.D.C.

When William and Mary Howitt were visited by Friends on their removal to Esher in 1836, "William inadvertently using the word Radical, the man Friend asked if he thought that word a desirable one for a Friend to use." *Autobiography of Mary Howitt*, 1889.

⁴⁶ Mary Howitt, in her *Autobiography*, 1889, writes of her father, Samuel Botham (1758-1823) : "He was descended from a long line of farmers, who had lived for centuries in primitive simplicity on their property, Apsford, situated in the bleak northern part of Staffordshire, known as the Moorlands . . . The town of Leek, in itself, a primitive

place, might be called the capital of this wild district Strange, brutal crimes occurred from time to time Sordid, penurious habits prevailed."

S. Botham married in 1796, Ann Wood, grand-daughter of William Wood, of Irish coinage fame, and settled at Uttoxeter. The first daughter Anna, married Daniel Harrison, of Yorkshire, in 1823 (see life of Lucy Harrison (1844-1915), entitled *A Lover of Books*), and their second daughter, Mary (1799-1888), married William Howitt (1792-1879).

Richard Smith was a visitor at the Botham home. Mary writes of him in her *Autobiography*: "He was a native of Staffordshire and a convinced Friend, who occasionally attended Uttoxeter meeting; and we girls had little idea of the love of God, thirst for souls, spirit of self-sacrifice and other Christian virtues, which were hidden under his strange, and, to us, forbidding aspect."

⁵⁰ Samuel Hollinshead, of Leek, died in 1822, aged seventy-five.

⁵¹ George Jones (1765-1841) was born at Horsehay, Salop, a son of pious parents, Friends. When twelve he was apprenticed to Joseph Heath, of Coventry, tailor and minister. At the age of eighteen he began to speak as a minister. In 1815, he married Ann Burgess, of Grooby Lodge, co. Leicester (1774-1846), who was also a minister. Their Gospel labours covered the British Isles, and from 1826 to 1830 they were engaged on a religious visit to North America. Sarah M. Grimké has left on record the proceedings of their last evening in Philadelphia, spent at the house of John Paul (*The Friend*, Phila., vol. 86 (1912), p. 203). Sermons preached by George and Ann Jones at Nine Partners, Stanford, and Oblong, State of New York, in 1828, are extant in print, also letters, etc. in D. G. Jones had great belief in the circulation of literature and his "Stockport Tracts" were widely dispersed.

⁵² Thomas Robson, of Liverpool (1768-1852) and Elizabeth (Stephen-son) his wife (1771-1843) travelled far and wide in the service of the Gospel.

⁵³ A chapter in Mary Howitt's *Autobiography* is devoted to a sketch of her husband's ancestry. William Howitt was born at Heanor and was educated at Ackworth. W. and M. Howitt left Friends. Their literary labours were very prolific. They died in Rome.

⁵⁴ Richard Phillips (1756-1836) wrote *Hints, chiefly Scriptural, respecting Regeneration*. This was printed, without his name, in 1808, and ran through several editions during the following forty years.

⁵⁵ Bishop Burnet's *Sentiments on Religion* had recently been included in *A Definition of True Religion by Authors of different religious denominations*, printed at Stockport in 1816, taken from Lindley Murray's *Power of Religion on the Mind*, many editions, 1787 to 1845.

⁵⁶ Thomas Mellor may have been of the family of Mellor of Whitehough, near Leek, for which see *John ap John*, by William G. Norris, 1907.

⁵⁷ Probably William Howitt.

⁵⁸ It is stated of James Dix (c. 1757-1840) of Leek, in *The Annual Monitor* for 1841, that he "long filled the important stations of Overseer and Elder, and was exemplary in the diligent attendance of meetings for worship, as well as concerned consistently to maintain our several religious testimonies," which statement is interesting in view of the remarks of Richard Smith.

⁵⁹ Mary Howitt had a good opinion of Toft Chorley, if not of Leek Friends generally, "The Friends of Leek had, all, with one exception, a cold, bleak, moorland character. They were not a well-favoured race,

and were neither good-mannered nor affable. The one exception was Toft Chorley, a gentleman with very little appearance of the Quaker about him. He had a country dwelling on the moorlands, but was always at his town house in Leek on Monthly Meeting days to receive and entertain Friends (*Autobiography*, i. 58).

⁶⁰ The Friends' Registers for Staffordshire record the burial of Joseph Lay, of Leek, in 1821 and of his wife, Sarah (Martin), in 1816, he aged seventy-nine and she sixty-six.

⁶¹ In the Birth Registers appear several children of William and Hannah Beardmore, of Newcastle, Staffs., between 1815 and 1833, those born before 1828 being non-members, the father being described as "earthenware painter."

Distress in Ireland, 1847

"A famine fell upon nearly one half of a great nation. The whole world hastened to contribute money and food. But a few courageous men left their homes in Middlesex and Surrey, and penetrated to the remotest glens and bogs of the west coast of the stricken island, to administer relief with their own hands. To say that they found themselves in the valley of the shadow of death would be but an imperfect image; they were in the charnel house of a nation. Never since the fourteenth century did pestilence, the gaunt handmaid of famine, glean so rich a harvest. In the midst of a scene, which no field of battle ever equalled in danger, in the number of its slain, or the sufferings of the surviving, these brave men moved as calm and undismayed as though they had been in their own homes. The population sank so fast that the living could not bury the dead; half-interred bodies protruded from the gaping graves; often the wife died in the midst of her starving children, whilst the husband lay a festering corpse by her side. Into the midst of these horrors did our heroes penetrate, dragging the dead from the living with their own hands, raising the head of famishing infancy, and pouring nourishment into parched lips, from which shot fever-flames more deadly than a volley of musketry. Here was courage. No music strung the nerves; no smoke obscured the imminent danger; no thunder of artillery deadened the senses. It was cool self-possession and resolute will; calculating risk and heroic resignation. And who were these brave men? To what gallant corps did they belong? Were they of the horse, foot, or artillery force? They were Quakers from Clapham and Kingston! If you would know what heroic actions they performed you must enquire from those who witnessed them. You will not find them recorded in the volumes of reports published by themselves, for Quakers write no bulletins of their victories."—Cobden's *Collected Writings*, i. 494-5, quoted in Morley's *Life of Cobden*, p. 604.

² Who were these Friends?

Joseph and Huldah Hoag and their Family

BY the kindness of Francis Corder Clayton, of Birmingham, we have been permitted to copy an account of the Hoag family, in the possession of Sara W. Sturge, of Birmingham.

This account, which is in the handwriting of Samuel Lloyd, of Wednesbury (1795-1892), is similar to that in the MS. Memoir of Elizabeth Robson (1771-1843), now in D., but it does not agree with it in various particulars. We have inserted within brackets some of the principal variations to be found in the Memoir.

Joseph Hoag (1762-1846) was the son of Elijah and Phœbe Hoag, and was born in Dutchess County, New York. In 1782 he married Huldah Case (1762-1850), daughter of Nathan and Elizabeth Case, of the same County. His *Journal* was published in 1861. The vision which he saw in 1803 was printed in the *Friends' Intelligencer* in 1854, and has appeared since under various forms, the latest being learnedly edited by Albert J. Edmunds, Philadelphia, 1915.

Lindley Murray Hoag (-) was the youngest and best known of this remarkable family. In 1831 he married Huldah B. Varney (1801-1843), widow of Jonas M. Varney, and daughter of Joseph and Hannah Varney, of Wolfborough, N.H. (*Memoir*, 1845). He visited the British Isles in 1845 and 1853, and he was in Norway also in the latter year (Jones, *The Quakers of Iowa*, 1914; *American Friend*, 1907, 246). In 1858 Robert and Sarah Lindsey met him and "his lovely young wife." S. L. writes: "The former is looking well, but thinner than when I saw him last in England" (*Iowa Journal*, xii. (1914), 420). See THE JOURNAL, vols. iv., x., xi.

Hannah Hoag became the wife of Ezra Batty.

"Joseph D. Hoag of Salem was to be found in 1844 preaching the Quaker message from the rough-hewn

doorstep of Thomas Stafford's log-cabin, by ' the light of a pile of burning logs . . . the house being filled with women, and the yard with men and boys.' " (Jones, *The Quakers of Iowa*, 1914, p. 53.)

A memorandum in the Robson Memoir reads : "Joseph D. Hoag and his wife Dorcas live with them [J. and H. H.], as well as Lindley Murray Hoag."

Extract of a Letter from the late Elizabeth Robson, dated Charlotte, Chilterden County, Vermont, [25th of Ninth Month,] 1826 :

Joseph Hoag's wife Huldah gave me the following particulars of her family. She and her husband were married in 1782, being each about 22 years of age—both spoke in the Ministry and were afterwards acknowledged by their Monthly Meeting. They were in low circumstances—but industrious. After they had two children their house at Nine Partners was burnt down, and as they had two small children [after which they had two more children], they concluded to remove to this place, an uncleared land, not having one tree cut down. They had only about 70 dollars worth of cattle, but her Father dying soon after left them a little property ; with this they had to hew [? hire] the clearings and pay the purchase money as they could spare it.

Her husband had poor health for some time, and Huldah [she was a comber and] combed wool in addition to taking care of her family, by which she obtained a little money to buy bread with when her Husband was too unwell to cultivate the Land. During this time J. & H. Hoag occasionally travelled in the Ministry and attended some Monthly Meetings. She carried her daughter Eliz : on horseback [and by water] 360 miles, before she was 4 months old—H. Hoag was the first friend who held a Meeting at Peru, having with her her daughter Hannah, little more than a year old. She had to cross Lake Champlain, with two young Friends without a man, and had to lie all night on an Island of the lake in the latter part of the Year.

As their children grew up they evinced much seriousness. Their eldest daughter Phoebe began to appear in the Ministry when about 12 years of age, at the same

Meeting their son Nathan appeared about two months afterwards being 10 years old. Martha appeared in the same line when 11 years old, and Hannah at 9 years old. Elizth appeared next, being 20, then Jemima at 19—next Joshua [Joseph] D. when in his 17th [fifteenth] year and Lindley Murray (their Youngest) in his 16th year, the last three are not as yet recommended, the first 5 are acknowledged Ministers.

Their Daughter Phoebe is deceased, she had 7 children and left 5. Her surviving Husband is an acknowledged Minister. Of J. & H. Hoag's children, 6 are now living who, with two of their partners, are acknowledged Ministers [other two appear as such but are not as yet acknowledged].

J. & H. Hoag have travelled much in the Ministry. J. H. has been as long as 10, 12, and 16 months [as many as nine, ten, fifteen, twenty and twenty-one months] from home at a time. His wife's journeys have not been so long, she not having been more than 9 or 10 months from home at one time. A Friend who had travelled with J. H. told me, that he had been acquainted with him 20 years, and he thought he had been absent from home for more than half of that time.

For some time after coming to Charlotte they had no Meeting, but sat in their family, some of their neighbours attending, several of whom joined them by conviction, and others removed to the settlement, so that now there are two Meetings settled there, the first was at Ferisburgh and they had to walk 3 miles to it [walk there awhile] sometimes without shoes to put on. Once when Huldah was appointed representative to their Monthly Meeting, at the distance of 75 miles from home, she had no shoes to wear, and a friend lent her some to go in.

They are now in a small clear farm and live comfortably. The situation is beautiful and they have been blessed every way and are a blessing to all around them.

Amy Hoag, a Daughter of Nathan and A[bigail] Hoag of Charlotte [and grand-daughter to Joseph and Huldah], began to appear in the Ministry when about 11 years old—in the beginning her voice was inaudible but it began gradually to get clear and distinct and her

Matter connected. Her Grandmother repeated to me one of her exhortations in these words (nearly if not quite), "My Mind has been deeply impressed with these words—If ye will open your hearts, I will come in, and ye shall be my people, and I will be your God." She was naturally of a [very] lively disposition, but became solid and serious in her behaviour previously to her appearance in the Ministry.

All J. & H. Hoag's children with their Partners are Ministers—or Members of the Select Meeting.

The following is added in the Lloyd manuscript :

1844. Lindley Murray Hoag, now on a religious visit in England, is a Widower with 4 children. He is a very eloquent preacher. Of this truly patriarchal couple (Joseph and Huldah Hoag) Dougan Clark, when in Ireland, 1844, related to John Abell the following particulars, That each now in their 85th year had last season been out on extensive religious service.

Joseph in paying a visit to Friends in Canada about a thousand miles from home, whilst his wife was a great distance away in another direction, he wrote to her that he hoped they might meet at the "Fall" and spend the winter together. After feeling released, he was about to return, but just as he was going on board the Steam Boat, he fell on the Quay and broke either his leg or thigh, which detained him a long time, and when able to travel again, he found his mind engaged to pay a visit in another distant Quarter and consequently their anticipated meeting had to be deferred.

Elizabeth Robson

ELIZABETH ROBSON (1771-1843) was the youngest daughter of a Quaker master mariner, viz., Isaac Stephenson (1694-1783), of Bridlington Quay, Yorkshire, by his third wife, Elizabeth Maire (1741-1795), of Beeford in Holderness.

Elizabeth Stephenson, later Robson, was descended from East Riding yeoman stock in several lines of ancestry,

who had been Friends from the earliest days of the Society.

Educated at Ackworth School, she resided, upon her mother's death, at the hospitable home of her brother, Isaac Stephenson (1765-1830), a corn-miller at Stockton. He, who was later of Manchester, was an eminent Quaker minister, and closely associated with his sister in some of her ministerial engagements.

Elizabeth Stephenson married, in 1796, Thomas Robson (1768-1852), then of Darlington, linen manufacturer, son of Thomas Robson of the same, and Margaret Pease, his wife. Thomas Robson, who was a Quaker Elder, accompanied George Richardson of Newcastle upon some of his ministerial travels; also William Flanner of America, and other Friends, as well as his wife, to whom he was companion in her second visit to America. He was also a great student of Quaker history, and wrote many biographies of early Friends, which are now for the most part at Devonshire House; he also indexed many old Quaker journals, and possessed a valuable collection of Quaker literature and many manuscripts which have unhappily mostly been dispersed.

Elizabeth Robson was recorded as a minister in 1810. She removed with her husband and family to Sunderland in 1811, and to Liverpool in 1821, where she died in 1843.

She was a woman of remarkable ministerial, as well as social, gifts, and for some thirty-five years she travelled extensively upon religious service in Great Britain and Ireland; was twice in America (1824-28 and 1838-42), and twice upon the continent of Europe (1816 and 1831), visiting Friends in Germany and France, as well as the Netherlands, Holland, Switzerland, etc.

It is said that she visited every Meeting of Friends in Great Britain, Ireland, America, and upon the continent of Europe (and in many cases several times), with only one exception, when the members of a small Meeting attended an adjoining Meeting at which she was present.

Elizabeth Robson held meetings with sailors, soldiers, miners, Red Indians, coloured people in America, and all sorts and conditions of men and women. With members of Congress she had two or more meetings; she

visited John Quincy Adams, President of United States; the statesman, Henry Clay; Marie Amelie, Queen of Louis Philippe, King of France; the King and Queen of Württemberg and their family; the Grand Duchess of Oldenburg, and many other interesting people. She visited schools, workhouses, asylums, penitentiaries, prisons and other public institutions; addressed innumerable public meetings, sometimes numbering thousands of people, and visited many hundreds of Quaker and other families.

It is interesting to record that a religious concern she had for the poor prisoners in Newgate in 1817, drew the especial attention of her valued friend, Elizabeth Fry, to the deplorable condition of its inmates, and she commenced her celebrated work in that prison from that period. This is recorded in a letter of their mutual friend Elizabeth (Lister) Beck, and in Henry Robson's Memoir of his mother.

Elizabeth Robson corresponded or was well acquainted with the leading members of our Society, such as Joseph John Gurney, Elizabeth Fry, William Allen, Stephen Grellet, Hannah Chapman Backhouse, Daniel Wheeler (whose funeral she attended in 1840), and many more.

She corresponded with such interesting people as Frederic William III., King of Prussia, who sent her an appreciative letter signed by his own hand; and addressed printed pamphlets to Friends of Indiana Yearly Meeting; to the inhabitants of the Island of Stroma; to Seamen; and to the inhabitants of Berlin on the outbreak of Asiatic cholera, which was printed in German at Pyrmont in 1831.

For obituary and other notices of Elizabeth Robson we must refer to the *Testimony* issued in 1844 by London Yearly Meeting, which was printed in extenso in *The British Friend* that year; also Susanna Corder's *Memorials of Friends* (sixth edition, 1845, pp. 415-431); *The Annual Monitor* (1845, pp. 115-121).

An elaborate *Memoir* of her was also written by her eldest son, Henry Robson (1798-1850), then resident with his father at Huddersfield, who also contributed to the account. This *Memoir* consisted of nine quarto volumes

of several thousand pages, and was very carefully and voluminously edited from many sources of information.

Unhappily the first three volumes were lost after the death, in 1897, of Elizabeth Robson's granddaughter, Mary (James) Backhouse, of Westbank, York, and we fear were sold with other books at the break-up of the Westbank home in 1907, following the death of Mary Louise Backhouse. The remaining volumes are now at Devonshire House, as are many of Elizabeth Robson's letters and manuscripts. An extensive manuscript memoir, as well as one in verse, and many letters, silhouette portraits, various relics and manuscripts, are in possession of Joseph J. Green, of Hastings; and Rachel Priscilla Robson of Saffron Walden, and Wilson Crewdson of St. Leonards-on-Sea, descendants of Elizabeth Robson, also possess letters and other relics. It is a cause of much regret that an adequate record of Elizabeth Robson has not yet been published, as few lives have been more fruitful or so full of incident; and few individuals have been enabled to accomplish so much for the well-being of their fellow men, or have been more deservedly beloved by the wide circle of their acquaintance and friendship.

The many testimonies borne to the exemplary character of Elizabeth Robson, apart from those of her own kin, were remarkable; among the names of the authors of which are Priscilla Hannah Gurney, Amelia Opie, and Frances (Phillips) Thompson; and poetical tributes by Isaac Sharp, William Ball (E. Robson's great-nephew by marriage), and Thomas Copland. She was indeed exemplary in every relation of life, and her conversational gifts remarkably interesting and instructive, from the stores of experience and anecdote derived from her arduous and extensive travels.

Clive Vale, Hastings

JOSEPH J. GREEN

It may seem to some that, under the changed conditions of our lives in the present day, there can be but little meaning for us in these lives lived two hundred years ago; but the same Light is here to guide us, and the same Truth to teach us, and the call of Duty is still sounding in our ears.

J. H. MIDGLEY, *Margaret Fell*, in *Friends Ancient and Modern Series*, 1916.

Abolition Rhymes, 1840

BY the courtesy of Ella Kent Barnard, West Grove, Pa., we have received a typed copy of *Abolitioneries or Remarks on some of the Members of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society, most of whom were present at the Annual Meeting held in Philadelphia and New York in May, 1840*. The author of these rhymes was Benjamin S. Jones. Most of the eighty persons introduced were Friends.

Of James Sloan Gibbons, first Editor of *Friends' Intelligencer* (1838), for whom see THE JOURNAL, xiv. 45, we read :

“ When others had strayed
And their trust had betrayed,
Thy ‘Protest’ sprang forth into light :
And tried hearts and true
Quickly rallied thereto,
For justice, for truth, and for right,
Jim Gibbons,
For justice, for truth, and for right.”

Joshua Coffin was the schoolmaster visitor at the Whittier homestead who presented young Greenleaf with a volume of the poems of Robert Burns, which gave him his first insight into true poetry. Whittier wrote an inscription for Joshua's tombstone.

“ Come, Joshua, come,
Make thy self quite at home :
What musty old book hast thou got ?
‘A very rare work
By Sid Harnest, a Turk
At a book-stand I met with and bought
Tother day,
At a book-stand I met with and bought.’ ”

The sisters, Angelina Emily and Sarah M. Grimké, were “ from the South [South Carolina], Episcopalians and wealthy. They acknowledged their brother Henry's natural sons (colored mother), who were at Lincoln University and later at Columbus College, and were able brilliant men. The Grimké sisters joined the Orthodox Friends' Meeting [Philadelphia] because of their strong feelings against slavery, thinking the Meeting on principle was opposed to it, and they either left the Meeting because they were disappointed in that, or were disowned by the Meeting because they treated as an equal a colored woman the Meeting had admitted to membership, but made sit by herself back under the gallery—they went and sat by her.”¹

¹ From notes taken by Josephine Pennock of statements of her aunt, Edith Pennock, “ the last of the Longwood Friends,” 1916.

A. E. Grimké married Theodore Dwight Weld, on the day of the riot over the Pennsylvania Hall, 1838, see *Elizabeth Buffum Chase*, 1914. In 1824 Sarah M. took notes of sermons by various Friends and these appeared in *The Friend* (Phila.), vol. 86 (1912). The copy of *The Death Bed of a young Quaker* (Springett Penn, 1675-1696), Boston, 1833, now in D., was presented to "Elizabeth Robson, Junr., with the love of Sarah M. Grimké, Philad., 8th Mo. 12, 1834," There was a Thomas Smith Grimké, of Charlestown, S.C. (c. 1787-1834), who issued an edition of Dymond's *Inquiry into War*, dedicated to Sunday Schools and containing extracts from his own writing on peace, 1834. His address at a Sunday School jubilee in 1831, is in D.

"The Grimkés I sought,
But alas! they were not:
Has the light from their spirits departed?
Rise, gird ye anew
To dare, suffer, and do!
Waver not! but be firm and true-hearted,
Once again!
Waver not! but be firm and true-hearted."

Among other abolitionists who appear are Lucretia Mott, J. G. Whittier, Joseph Janney, Abby Kelly, W. L. Garrison. Of James Rhoads we read:

"Hast thou ever, James Rhoads,
Heard of half-living toads,
That for hundreds of years slept in stone?
Will the simile fit,
Or at fault is my wit?
Has thy share of the labor been done,
James Rhoads?
Has thy share of the labor been done?"

Recd th 5m of 12. 1718 of Rich Partridge. five pounds of
confederation money with John Ditch whom I have taken
apprentice to two pounds for cloathing him -

£ 5 5 -
2 -
7 5 0 -

Tho. Chalkley

From Minutes of Southwark M.M. in D.

The Cambridge "Journal of George Fox"

Continued from Vol. xiii., p. 171

51.—Vol. II., p. 399.—The following account of the death of Sir Francis Cobbe has been extracted by J. J. Green from the *Diaries* of Oliver Heywood (1630-1702), edited by J. Horsfall Turner, vol. iii. (1883), p. 209 :

"Sir Francis Cob, a great man in the East Riding of Yorkshire, travelling to London about Jan. 5, 1675, lay at a kinsmans house in Lincolnshire one Mr. Marwood's in his journey, lying long in the morning, his man went to help him up, but he said he was not well, s^d intreat my uncle to excuse me for I shall not come to dinner to-day, so he left him in his bed, when he had gone Sr Francis rose out of his bed fell upon his own sword w^{ch} went in at his belly and came out of his back and was fallen dead on the floor, his man sth now that he had askt him to kill him 3 times—the occasion is thought to be the death of one old Mr. Kirk of London that had allowed him 500 a year, having little of his own, being in much debt, laid himself in the kings bench—this man was the principall prosecutor of the poor men in the plot-time, having imprisoned several, some whereof dyed by the hands of violence viz. 22, others dyed of feavers and other diseases in York Castle many whereof I knew and could mention."

52.—Vol. II., pp. 137-149, 176-255.—There has recently been on loan in D. a small leather-bound volume of manuscript, with cover much worn, measuring 6½ ins. by 3¾ ins., containing about 200 pages, with penned rules around, written in one hand and of great interest.

There are various inscriptions—"John Acrod is the Right owner of this Booke 1682 For aney thing J know."—"John Ecroyd Jr. Right owner of this Booke, 1690"—"John Earnshaws Jun's Book."—"John Bargroaues."

The present owners are the Misses Earnshaw, of Harrogate; it was previously in the possession of their father, John Earnshaw, surgeon, of Oldham, and of his father of the same name, place and profession.

Its contents are as follows :

Section I.—"A relation vnto friends of y^e most materiall passages by y^e power of God in George ffoxes Travells into & in Ireland & out of Ireland, as followeth." This occupies 29 pages, and follows closely the relation printed in the Camb. *Jnl.*, ii. 137-149. This MS. has "Lowzy Hill" instead of "lazy hill" (ii. 147) and "Thomas hollins" in place of "Thomas Holmes" (ii. 148).

Section II.—"A Journall of George ffoxes wth other friends who accompanied him from London in England towards America," etc., as the heading given in Camb. *Jnl.* ii. 176, save that several names are slightly differently spelt. This consists of twenty-two pages and is the same as the account of the Camb. *Jnl.* ii. 176-187, and signed "John Hull."

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Section III.—"Another Epistle from a friend in Barbados." This occupies 6½ pages. The subscription is "Written in Barbado's y^e 5th of y^e 9th mo 1671." The letter, probably written by John Stubbs, is here reproduced *verb. et lit.*

"Another Epistle from a friend in Barbados.

"Dearly beloved friends

"After y^e salutation of my dear Love & tender respects to you both, wth acknowledgment of y^or tenderness Love & benevolence from time to time comūicated to me, The Consideration of w^e enjoys me, to have you in Remembrance & having no outward substance whereby J can requite y^or kindness, J can do no less than own y^or kindness Love & tenderness, & now at this time finds it as a duty incumbent vpon me, to let you both know how wee are, But indeed J have not time to enlarge because J have written many letters & have more to write, yet so if you would know how things are more fully & particularly J refer you to a Letter written by John Hull to Edw. Man. But take y^e Account as full and as short as J can comprize it as followeth.

"first wee came from London y^e 11th of y^e 6th mo & to y^e Downs we came y^e 13th at night & vpon y^e 14th in y^e evening wee sett sail from thence; Wee came into y^e harbor at y^e Bridgetown in Barbado's vpon y^e 3rd day of y^e 8th month being y^e third day of y^e week about y^e 10th hour at Night, So was from y^e time of our coming from London to this Jland about 7 weeks & 5 days & we have been here about a month & 2 days, Now as to our Journey by sea J Likewise Refer you to a manuscript w^{ch} J think John Hull hath sent to Edw: Man. And then y^e same night that wee came into y^e harbour, which as J said before was y^e 10th hour at night, & y^e same night about y^e 12th hour honest Tho. Horton & James Gilberts both came to vs, & dear George ffox & some others went a Quarter of a mile from y^e Town to a friends house one Richard fforestalls & most of us staid in y^e town at John Taylors, & then about 4 days after James Lancaster & Joh. Cartwright passed away (in y^e same shipp y^t wee came in) to Jamaica, & G. ff. remained weak in y^e same friends house afore-said, & after some days Tho. Rous sent a Coach for him to his house & he hath remained there ever since, he hath not been abroad, but great hath been y^e Expectations of friends & very many others, & y^t of great Account in y^e world for his appearance in Meetings; J know yee are not ignorant of y^e cause of his weakness, for he beares y^e Jniquity where ever he comes & here is too much of y^t found here, J must be as short as J can.

"And as for 4, viz: Tho. Briggs, Wil^m Edmundson, Solomon Eckles & my self wee have been Excercised in y^e service since as much as wee could desire. T: B; & W: E: have been pretty much together at Meetings, but Solom. Ec: & J have been separated though much agst our Wills. because if we had continued together, y^e meetings in y^e Jland had not been supplied, ffor here are some times 4 & somtimes 3 meetings in y^e Jland & severall meetings in y^e week days but now So: Ec: & J are together but we cannot be long together for y^e reasons before mentioned; Jo. Rous some times helped us, but being wth his father & other necessary

occasions prevents him, & here is a Bristoll friend an honest man one Nathaniel Milner speaks in Meetings.

"Now J must desist from speaking of our selves, only hinting to you y^e y^e Lords Eternall presence & power is wth us & great & full meetings wee have every where ; our houses are filled & more than they can hold, & gallant large houses they are & spacious, but wee Leave y^e success to y^e Lord alone, And now J am to speak of dear G. ff. who is y^e chief of thousands (as J said before) he hath not been abroad since he went to Tho. Rouses, but hath remained weak ; y^e last first day there was a meeting there, & at y^t place for y^e most part is y^e generall meeting w^{ch} is once a month & is y^e greatest meeting in y^e Jland ; for when it comes to bee at Th. Rouses, w^{ch} is once a month then they bring 2 meetings into their one meeting ; & friends every where knowing y^t G. ff. was there they went from most places of y^e Jland thither, & people of y^e world & many not of y^e least neither, among whom was a Judge & he told a friend y^t he never heard y^e like of G. ff. & staid wth vs 2 or 3 days, & came away very much satisfied & so did all, J beleeve y^t y^e witnes in people leaps for Joy at his being here : So: Ec: & Jo: Rous was wth him at y^e meeting & J was at another part of y^e Jland where we had a large meeting & y^e Judges wife was there where J was & at severall meetings there seems to be a new Vintage. Great are y^e flockings into our meetings, but we will Leave (as J said before) y^e success to y^e Lord, then y^e next day after y^e meeting he had a pretious womans meeting where y^e Life flowed, it's thought y^t they were in number above 100 women & then y^e 4th day which was yesterday he had a Mans Meeting where there came severall of y^e world, so y^t G. ff. could not speak his mind to men friends whilst they was there, for there were severall great men in y^e outward & so he spoke to them all y^e Everlasting truth in generall much to y^e satisfaction & refreshment of all y^t heard & amongst y^e hearers there was a Lievtenant Colonell belonging to y^e Jland, & he was exceedingly satisfied, & G. ff. took him by y^e hand when y^e meeting was done & prayed for him, & he was Exceedingly affected wth George, & then he came to me & took mee by y^e hand, & said, well ! now J can tell you what to say to y^e opposers of you, how you set forth y^e Excellency & fullness of christ & Jo: Hull was standing by mee, & then he turned to him & said, Sir you wrote after, now J pray you do me y^e favour to let me have y^e copy of it.

"So y^e people of y^e world passed all away no doubt all satisfied, & then men friends all drew into another Room & G. ff. laid many weighty heavenly things before them to generall satisfaction & so Concluded wth prayer & blessing vpon y^e whole meeting, so friends parted wth glad hearts when it was very late, but it was moon Light, But here is a generall gladness among all y^e honest hearted & where there is desires after truth such their hearts leaps for joy at his coming thither, & they say that many of y^e blacks are glad also, hearing y^t he stands for their Redemption.

"Written in Barbado's y^e 5th of y^e 9th mo. 1671."

Section IV.—Then follows a letter of twenty-one pages from "Roade Jland y^e 19th of y^e 4th mo. 1672," by George Fox, with postscript, as

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appears in Camb. *Jnl.* ii., 206-215, with some divergence as to dates, etc.; "worlds end" of ii. 211 is "woods end" in this recension.

Section V.—"The second part (or an addition) to y^e Journall of George ffoxes travells in America in y^e year 1672"—92 pages. This follows very closely the account in Camb. *Jnl.* ii., 221-255—"Plumm Island" of p. 225 is given as "Plunim Island" and Manoco river, p. 241, as Manow river.

53.—Vol. II., p. 269.—In Catalog no. 35, sent out by the Franklin Bookshop, Philadelphia (Samuel N. Rhoads)—*Americana Curiosa et Quakeriana*, 1916, there is a very good reproduction of a sheet of George Fox's handwriting, relating to the examination before the Worcester Justices of himself and Thomas Lower, towards the close of 1673. This piece has not been incorporated in the original Journal but similar information is conveyed in a letter from G. F. to George Whitehead (Camb. *Jnl.* ii., 268-272). The price asked for this holograph is \$275.00. S. N. Rhoads purchased it from Lydia B. Sargent, of Fritchley, Derbyshire, in 1910, to whom it came from Lydia Ann Barclay (1799-1855).

54.—Vol. I., p. 447.—From the recently published history of the Hanbury family, we learn that Richard Hanbury was born in 1610. His father was Philip Hanbury (1582-c. 1651), who had moved into Wales from Elmley Lovatt, in Worcestershire. Richard's first wife was Cecilia and his second, Elizabeth, whom he had married before the advent of Fox in 1668 (ii. 120). In the quotation from Bradney's *Monmouthshire*, we should probably read *Richard* for Charles. Mr. Bradney was probably referring to Richard Hanbury, the younger (1647-1714) whose son Charles (1677-1735) was the ancestor of a considerable branch of the Hanbury family, known as Hanbury of Holfield Grange, Essex, etc., while Richard's son, Capel (1678-1740), headed the Hanburys of London.

55.—Vol. II., pp. 226, 437.—The story of the remarkable accident to John Jay and his recovery has been brought again to notice by a request made by A. N. Brayshaw, to Dr. Bedford Pierce, of York, for his opinion of the event from a surgical point of view. We are permitted to give here Dr. Pierce's reply:

"It is quite clear the bones were not broken or the man could not have travelled safely sixteen miles the next day.

"It seems equally clear that no bones were dislocated as under such conditions there would not be praeter-natural mobility—but the reverse.

"The probability is that he was very deeply unconscious, when the muscles would be entirely flaccid. When he came round, and probably the vigorous treatment assisted in arousing him, the muscles would become stiff and rigid especially if there had been any sprain or injury to muscle or ligament."

CHAPTER I. THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA.

THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA, by Christopher Columbus, in 1492, is one of the most important events in the history of the world. It opened up a new world of discovery and exploration, and led to the establishment of a new world of nations.

At the time of the discovery of America, the world was divided into two main parts, Europe and Asia. Europe was the only part of the world that was known to the rest of the world. The discovery of America opened up a new world of discovery and exploration, and led to the establishment of a new world of nations.

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56.—Vol. II., p. 461.—Add to note re Sunday labour William Penn's reply to Henry Hallywell, vicar of Cowfold, Sussex. The latter stated in his *Account of Familism as it is Revived and Propagated by the Quakers*, etc., 1673¹, that "Familists and Quakers put no Difference between one Day and another . . . that many times they follow their usual Trades on a Sunday." Penn answers in his *Wisdom Justified of her Children*, 1673: "What the Familists did is nothing to us (if they did so) But sure I am he has abused the Quakers: For 'tis well known, that in what country soever they live, they follow the Practice of the Apostles, in Assembling together on the first Day of the Week . . . And to say, That we many times follow our usual Trades on that Day, is a plain Untruth, the whole World knows better, though we do not Judaize; For Worship was not made for Time, but Time for Worship: Nor is there any Day Holy of it self, though Holy things may be performed upon a Day."

57.—Vol. I., p. 470.—The date of the death of John Hall should be 1739, according to his Testimony. He was born 4. iii. 1662.

'In the copy in D. Morris Birkbeck has pencilled: "One of the weakest, most absurd and contradictory Pieces that I remember to have read. M.B. Waded through 7.23, 1795" !

"Speaking of 'Uncle Tom's Cabin,' I must not forget to tell you that the sheets of this work, I believe before its publication in America, were offered for £5 to Charles Gilpin. He would not buy them. Then they were offered to Mr. Bogue, then to Mr. Bohn, and rejected by both. They were bought in the end by Routledge. Now there are at least twenty different publishers' editions, Bohn's and Bogue's among the rest; and it is supposed that upwards of one million copies have been sold in England alone."

Autobiography of Mary Howitt, anno 1852.

The grandmother of a Philadelphia lady vouches for the following. During her girlhood her father bought her an umbrella, which she carried with great pleasure and delight, but so new and unknown was the article that the meeting to which she belonged became alarmed and the Overseers dealt with her worldly-minded father. During the visit one woman Friend said to the young girl, "Miriam would thee want that held over thee when thee was a-dying?" That, of course, settled the matter and the offending umbrella was relegated to seclusion.

From an address on the "Ancient Customs of Friends," by Elmina Wilson and Miriam McDivitt, printed in *Centennial of Whitewater Monthly Meeting*, 1909.

For other anecdotes of the umbrella see THE JOURNAL, xi., 140.

Richard Lindley and His Writings

RICHARD LINDLEY (c. 1721-1785) was a flax-dresser, of Darlington, and an Elder in the Society of Friends. He was the youngest child of Simon Lindley, of Darlington, by his wife Jane (Appleby).

He was one of the very numerous Diarists the Society has produced, and there are in existence in D. (presented recently, with other Lindley MSS., by Joseph J. Green, having reached him through the Robsons, friends of the Diarist) several little volumes of his writing.

Extracts from these little volumes follow :

(1) This is a list of visits of ministering Friends to Darlington Meeting between 1757 and 1766. The first entry is " 4th mo : 10th (1) [First-day] Abraham Farrington from New Jersey, & Joseph Harwood of Manchester, went next day to Yarm. R^d Lindley, Guide. Edw^d Pease lent his mare."

Other names include Edward Higginson (Godmanchester) in 1757 ; Alice Hall (Cumberland), Mordecai Yarnall (Philadelphia), Grace Chambers, " in y^e 84th year of her age." Abiah Darby and Ann Summerland, Joseph White (The Falls, Pa.) in 1759 ; Lucy Ecroyd (Marsden, formerly Bradley of Bristol) in 1760.

On " 8 mo. 30, 1761 (1) Monthly meeting held here by appointment to accomodate y^e following friends, who were Visitors pursuant to y^e direction of y^e Yearly Meeting, viz Sam^l Fothergill, Jonanⁿ Rain, John Lindoe, W^m Dillworth, Is: Wilson, Tho^s Corbyn & Joseph Taylor, by whom several judicious remarks were made & solid advices given ; y^e mee : held from 11 to near 6 o'clock."

In 1761 came James Daniel (West Jersey). In 1764 " no f^d had an appointed mees here, but some frds from neighbouring Meetings or otherwise dropt in, without having occasion for a Guide," but next year " Catherine Payton & Hannah Shipley were at M.M." and later Nicholas Beeby and Joseph Saul (Cumberland).

(2) This volume covers the years 1767 to 1782, and records various meetings attended and the names of friends taking vocal part. The first entry is:

"1767 1st mo. 6 (3) Quarterly Meeting at Durham for discipline pretty agreeably conducted—and in the evening a publick meeting w^{ch} was small but satisfactory. J. Procter, S. March, & J. Stephenson appeared & J. S. prayed. I thought y^e meets was favored."

This year "Samuel Stott (Edmundsbury) & John Townshend (London) returning from Scotland," and later in the same "Sally Taylor (Manchester) Jonah Rain (Crawshawbooth) at our meets." Mabel Wigham was present at a meeting "favored with the meltings of tendering goodness." May Drummond appeared in 1769, and in 1770 Mary Ridgway (Mt. Melick) Jane Watson (high Edendery) . . . J. W. first appeared since her coming this Journey, at Exeter about 8 mo: since & is very acceptable & able for y^e time." Robert Willis (New Jersey), William Hunt (N. Carolina), and Thomas Thornborough (N. Carolina) passed through the district in 1771, and in 1772 "Rachel Wilson, Sarah (& Debo :) Morris (Philadelphia)"; in 1777 "Thomas Carrington (Pensilvania)."

(3) "1783. 9 mo. 30 (3). Qu: Mee: at Durham, W^m. Rathbone, T. Cash, J. Procter, R. Bainbridge, J. Stephⁿ and M. Brantingham all app^d T. Cash p^d."

"1784. 8 mo. 29. Nicholas Waln (Philadelphia), Morris Birbeck. N. W. appeared well especially at y^e conclusion of his testimony. M. B. a few words also. N. W. d^{to} (Give us of your oyl). a.m. [afternoon meeting] N. W. again & as in y^e forep^t of f. n^m. [forenoon meeting] in a sententious broken manner, but substantial matter. J. B. agreeably & N. W. agⁿ wth 2 or 3 words. Mees: low, but a degree of calm settlement, wth some covers of sweet solid sense. They went next day to Richmond G[uide]l W. Ianson."

Later in the year Rebecca Jones of Philadelphia was in the district.

1785. "3 mo. 3 (5) Rebecca Wright (New Jersey) and Martha Routh (Manchester). . . . Rebecca seems to be a deep, sound, living minister."

At the close of the Diaries Richard Lindley records visits to his sick-room by Esther Tuke, Elizabeth Hoyland, Hannah Wigham, and "old Thomas Ross," from Pennsylvania, who died shortly afterwards.

The date of the last entry is 30 x. 1785; the Diarist died eighteen days later.

(4) Account of Yearly Meeting of 1759.

(5) Account of Yearly Meeting of 1780.

Not the least interesting portions of the Diaries are the accounts of several Quarterly Meetings in York, attended by R. Lindley. These we intend to refer to later.

Books Wanted

THE Library Department at Devonshire House has been engaged for some time in supplying Friends' literature to public and private libraries and other institutions, and has made up sets of various periodicals for the British Museum, Universities' Libraries, National Libraries of Ireland and Wales and many town libraries. It now appeals for help from those who have such literature for which they would be glad to find positions of usefulness.

Here follows a first list of Wants :

HAVERFORD COLLEGE, PA. :

Dublin Y.M. Proceedings, v.y. ; *Australian Friend*, v.y. ; *British Friend*, 1902 ; *Irish Friend*, vol. I. ; early London Y.M. Epistles and some later in original format ;

NATIONAL LIBRARY OF WALES :

Annual Monitor before 1840, and some later ; *Friends' Quarterly Examiner* after 1905.

BRITISH MUSEUM :

London Y.M. folio Epistles, 1682, 1686, 1870, 1874, 1881, 1891, 1892, 1909.

ALLEN C. THOMAS, A.M., HAVERFORD COLLEGE, PA., U.S.A. :

J. J. Gurney's *Notes on a Visit to Some Prisons in Scotland*, 2nd or 3rd edition, or that of 1847 preferred.

Elizabeth's Fry's *Observations on the visiting etc. of female Prisoners*, 2nd edition preferred, 1827.

Also E. Fry's *Texts for every Day in the Year*, any edition.

Friends and Current Literature

Books of interest to Friends may be purchased at the Friends' Bookshop, 140, Bishopsgate, London, E.C.2.

The Friends' Book and Tract Committee, 144 East 20th Street, New York City, are importers of Friends' literature.

Many of the books in D. may be borrowed by Friends. Apply to Librarian, Devonshire House, Bishopsgate, London, E.C.2.

THE *Quaker of the Future Time*, by George A. Walton. William Penn Lectures, Second Series.

We welcome George A. Walton's contribution to current Quaker literature, to which four thoughtful and well-expressed stanzas by Eleanor Scott Sharples form an introduction. Three of them are introduced in the text. Especially beautiful is the stanza commencing

"He sees God in the star-lit night,
In every sun-kissed flower."

George A. Walton emphasizes the essential character of the early Quaker, resting, as Carlyle says of George Fox, "on the adamantine basis of his manhood." He shows that, now as then, no "man or institution" has final authority "over the life of him whose "conscience impelled by the inward Presence is supreme," a "God-intoxicated man" to use the expression of Novalis. Being so, "personal duty" will be the motive permeating his whole life, saved from "degenerating into unbridled individualism" by the purifying power of that inward Presence.

We need not here follow the lecturer in detail as he works out the resultant activities of such a Spirit-driven force, exercised in brotherhood and social movements for the salvation of democracy. The Quaker of the Future, labouring that "life may rest not in law, but the spirit of love," will have faith that "the best side of humanity will awaken" to his touch.

Hungering for growth, he will not regard any attainment as final, whether in Science or Theology, but will be found reaching forward to an ever-expanding view of Truth. Feeding on direct communion with God, "yearning for guidance and inspiration," he will ever set before him as his goal "the very fulness of the stature of manhood that is in Christ Jesus."

ISAAC SHARP.

Friends' Missionary Advocate, "representing the work of American Friends in ten countries," has entered upon its thirty-third volume (January, 1917). It is published monthly at Urbana, Ohio, and edited by Lenora N. Hobbs, of Blomingsdale, Ind.

* There are several notices of Friends in *Russian Memories*, by Madame Olga Novikoff, "O.K." (London: Herbert Jenkins, 8½ by 5½, pp. 310, 10s. 6d. net.):

"In that great calamity [the terrible famine of 1892] the help given by the English Society of Friends was very remarkable. After some

* = Not in D.

preliminary enquiry, I was invited to attend a Committee Meeting. There were, I think, between twenty and thirty present and I was the only woman. A series of questions was addressed to me about the state of things in Russia. I exaggerated nothing. I concealed nothing. I told them that an unforeseen blow had befallen sixteen of our provinces and found us unprepared to combat its effects. . . . 'The Friends' listened attentively, but said very little. Mr. Braithwaite, the chairman, only expressed a hope that 'God will help our efforts.' Nothing more, but without losing a day they went to work and worked splendidly. They not only collected about £40,000, but sent their delegates, Mr. Edmond Brookes [Edmund Wright Brooks] and Mr. William Fox [Francis William Fox], to distribute their help on the spot amongst the famine-stricken peasantry." (p. 126). "The magnificent part played in Russia by the Society of Friends . . . is well remembered by all of us Russians" (p. 296). On p. 186 there is a record of a two hours' interview with John Bright.

The Ven. Archdeacon Holmes preached a sermon in St. Paul's Cathedral, London, recently on "Buy the Truth, and sell it not" (Prov. xxiii. 23). According to a report in the *Church Times* of 19th January, he appears to have expressed the view that the Anglican Church had all that the other Churches had and more. After reference to Unitarians, Baptists, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Wesleyans the preacher adds:

"Or there is the Quaker—the Quaker whom we all respect and admire, who earned his very name from the fearlessness with which his founder, George Fox, made even his judges quake at the hearing of the Word—the Quaker who for nearly three hundred years has been such a moral power in England and America. And to him we would say: We hold all that you hold about the Holy Spirit, the Word of God, the need of silence, the teaching of the mystical side of Christianity; but we have something in addition to all this, something which you have lost—God's gifts of beauty, aestheticism, music, painting, art of all kinds pressed into the service of the sanctuary. We long to share them all with you, and, not selling but in sharing, to be one with you in the Lord."

*"The most eloquent thing in England, I always think, is John Bright's gravestone at Rochdale: a small plain stone in the graveyard of a Quakers' Meeting House on which are inscribed two words: John Bright."

Quoted in *Young Man and Woman*, Jan. 1917.

* Edward Alexander was brought up in a wealthy Quaker home and instructed in the usual Quaker view of war, but when he mixed with fellow-students at Cambridge, and heard of their enlistment, his feelings underwent some change. His experiences in the bombardment of Scarborough deepened his pro-war view, and but for the entreaties of his mother on her death-bed he might have "joined up." As it was he entered the Friends' Ambulance Unit, was severely wounded and returned to hospital.

For this and the final love scene, etc., see *Quaker-Born*, by Ian Campbell Hannah (New York: G. Arnold Shaw, 7½ by 5½, pp. 261, \$1.50).

Though having a New York publisher, the author has his home in Sussex, England.

The Friends' Peace Committee, Devonshire House, London, has issued the 1916 Epistle of London Yearly Meeting in German.

The latest book by Dr. Oliver Huckel, of Baltimore, Md., is entitled *A Dreamer of Dreams, being a new and intimate telling of the love-story and life-work of "Will Penn the Quaker"* (New York: Crowell, 7½ by 5, pp. xxvii. + 249, \$1.25). The sub-title explains the object of the book—to recount the life of Penn from the private human side and told by one of his family. To this end a journal of the time has been imagined, written first by Penn's wife and later by his daughter. The book reminds one of Mrs. Marshall's books of the Schönberg-Cotta series, but it is not so well done, or with the same regard to historical accuracy. The first page makes a bad beginning when in 1668, Thomas Ellwood and Miss Springett "pass the quiet shrine of Jordans where our Meeting House stands and . . . near our Friends' burial ground." On this we have to say (i.) the meeting house was not built till 1688, (ii.) the burial ground did not exist till 1671, and (iii.) neither, at that time, could well be termed a "shrine"! Here and there one detects Americanisms in "Guli's" Journal and it must have been a slip of the printer rather than the Diarist to make Queen Mary the daughter of James I. (p. 195) and to state that Gulielma Penn died at "Hoddesven" (p. 211). The book is dedicated "to Ann Edward and Rebecca Ming, My Quaker Grandmothers." The copy in D. was presented by Headley Brothers.

The first article in the January number of the *Harvard Theological Review* (vol. x., no. 1., Harvard Coll., Cambridge, Mass.) is by Rufus M. Jones, on "Quietism." The author writes that the substance of it will form one chapter in his forthcoming volume of Quaker history, in which he is endeavouring to trace the influence of Quietism upon the Society of Friends in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

The Arm of God is the title of a collection of fifty incidents of various periods when Divine protection and interposition seemed specially manifest in times of great danger. The collection was made by Roderic and Erica Dunkerley (son and daughter of "John Oxenham") and the incidents are drawn from the lives of St. Francis of Assisi, George Fox, Mme. Guyon, William Penn, John Wesley, Robert Moffat, Catharine Booth, Caroline Talbot, Mary Slessor, etc., and from occurrences in Ireland, North and South America, the South Seas, and elsewhere. (London: Oliphants, 6 by 3½, pp. 175, 1s. 6d. net.) This little book is worthy of a wide circulation.

* In volume xiii. of *The Cambridge History of English Literature*, 1916, under the heading of "Lesser Poets of the Middle and Later Nineteenth Century," there is reference to Herbert Edwin Clarke, "whose verse, though always well received by competent critics, had,

and the other two, which were the most important, were the

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perhaps, 'less effect on the public—even such part of the public as reads poetry—than that of any writer of anything like equal merit noticed in this chapter. . . . And there may be reckoned to Clarke one signal merit—that, putting a few scattered passages of Tennyson aside, his is the only poetry which has done justice (he was to the manner and matter born at Chatteris in Cambridgeshire) to the strange and unique beauty of the fen-country."

The card-catalogue in **D.** contains a number of references to H. E. Clarke (1852-1912)—"British Friend," 1904 and 1912; "Annual Monitor," 1913, with portrait. He was educated at Hertford and Sidcot and in 1873 settled in London. "He had for many years little connection with the Society of Friends, though he retained his membership." He died at his home at Beckenham.

* Further essays by J. Rendel Harris have been published by the Cambridge University Press—*Picus who is also Zeus*, pp. 74; *Testimonies*, pp. 138; and by the Manchester University Press, *The Ascent of Olympus*, pp. 140.

Glowing Facts and Personalities, chiefly associated with the Birmingham Adult School Movement, and the late Alderman William White, by the late Edward Smith (1849-1916), non-Friend, Adult School President (London: Religious Tract Society, 7½ by 5, pp. 136, 1s. net).

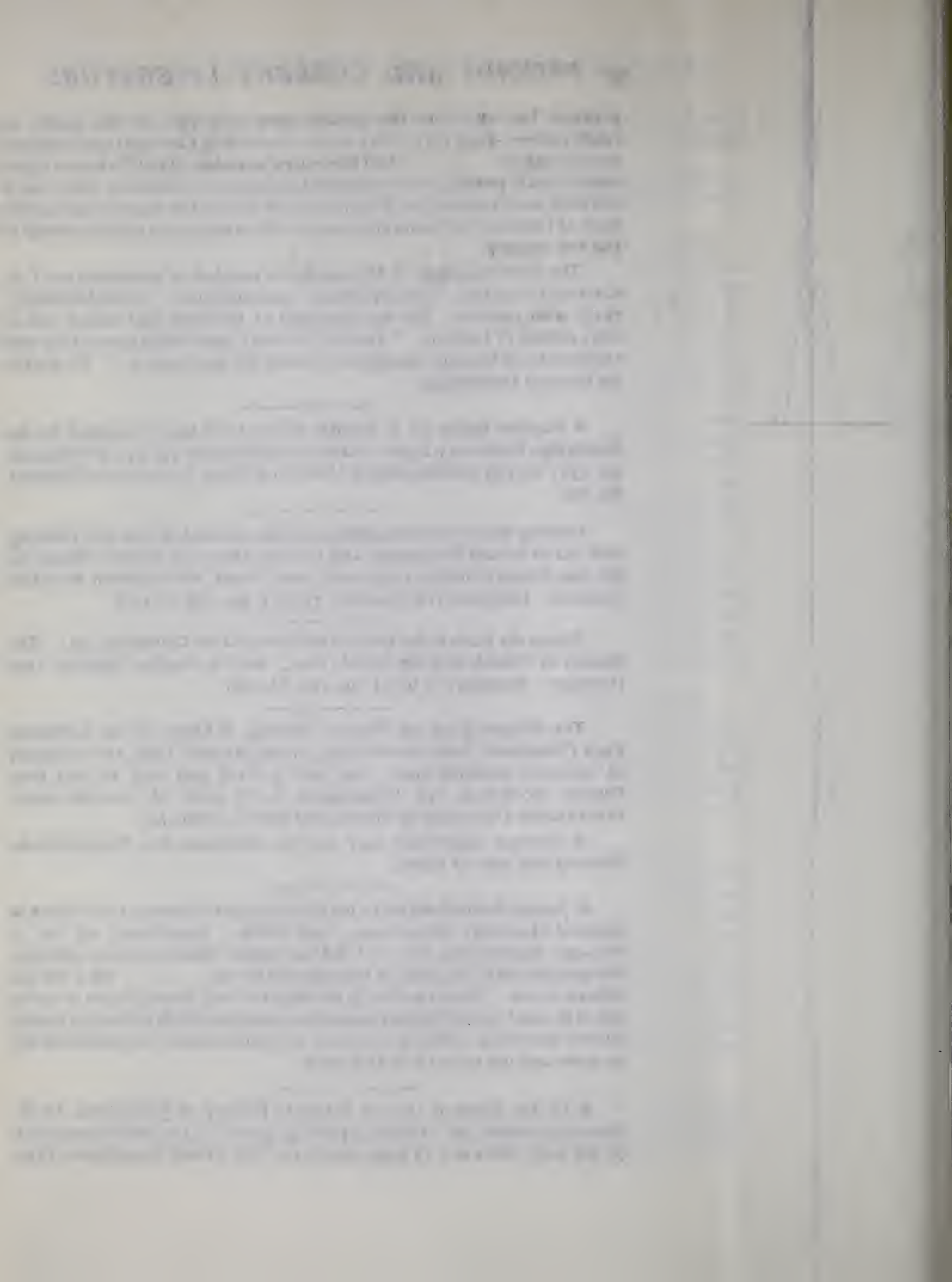
Facing the Facts is the title of the Report of the Conference on "The Society of Friends and the Social Order," held in London, October, 1916 (London: Headley, 8½ by 5½, pp. 170, 6d. net).

The address given by William Whiting, of Leeds, at the Lofthouse Park (Wakefield) Internment Camp, on 9th August, 1916, to a company of Germans detained there, has been printed and may be had from Friends' Bookshop, 140, Bishopsgate, E.C.2, price 1d., postage extra. It is entitled *The Society of Friends and what it Stands for*.

A German translation may also be obtained—*Die Gesellschaft der Freunde und was sie wollen*.

* Joseph Pennell writes in his Preface to his *Pictures of War Work in England* (London: Heineman; and Phila.: Lippincott, 9½ by 7, fifty-one illustrations, 6s.): "I did not make these drawings, etchings, lithographs with any idea of helping on the war . . . for I do not believe in war. But as we are in the midst of war, though some of us are not of it—and as war has developed the most incredible industrial energy all over the world—there is no reason why some artistic record should not be made and my record is in this book."

* In *The Street of Ink*, an Intimate History of Journalism, by H. Simonis (London, etc.: Cassell, 8½ by 5½, pp. xx. + 372, with 80 portraits, 7s. 6d. net), there is a 1½ page account of *The Friend* (established 1843)



and also an illustrated reference to Henry T. Cadbury, and notices of other members of the family and of Bertram F. Crosfield, in the chapter on *The Daily News*. This is a delightful account of many ventures in journalism, successful and otherwise.

* "I know a little American history and I have been trying to recall a time when Christian America, or any considerable part of it, ever spent one whole day putting Christianity to the test. The Pilgrims came over to test it, but the moment they got out of reach of persecution they forgot and fell to persecuting the saints who disagreed with them. Boston set up to try it and forgot, and hung four Quakers, including a saintly Quaker sister for preaching the gospel of peace in its streets. Roger Williams tried it and found that it worked. William Penn tried it at Shackamaxon when he talked love to the big Indian chiefs and smoked the pipe of peace with them and paid them for their lands; and it worked. Oglethorpe tried it when he organised the Christian State of Georgia, but he soon forgot and went down to Florida to kill the Spanish."

From *Our Troublesome Religious Questions*, by Edward Leigh Pell (New York, etc.: Revell, 8½ by 5½, pp. 251. \$1.25, or 6s. net).

Headley Brothers have just published a very attractive botanical book—*British Wild Flowers, their Haunts and Associations* (8½ by 5½, pp. 16 + 320, with many beautiful illustrations, 7s. 6d. net). It has been written by William Graveson, a Friend of Hertford, who has presented a copy to D.

The Hope for Society : Essays on Social Reconstruction after the War, by various Writers (London: Bell, 1917). These Essays, edited by our Friend, Lucy Gardner, were read at the Interdenominational Summer School, held at Swanwick in 1916, in which School the Friends' Social Union took part. Our Friend, J. St. George Heath, wrote on "The New Social Conscience as to Use of Income."

A pamphlet is to hand entitled: *The Two Hundredth Anniversary of Friends' Meeting, Westport, Massachusetts, also the One Hundredth Fiftieth Anniversary of Westport (Acoaxet) Monthly Meeting, 1766-1816*, by Khalil A. Totah and Edward L. Macomber. There are several illustrations and a notice appears, *inter alia*, of Paul Cuffee (1759-1817)—"a selfmade man, patriot, navigator, educator, philanthropist, Friend. A noble character."—the wording of a memorial erected in the Meeting House grounds at Central Village, Mass.

Co-operation or Chaos ? is the title of a handbook written by Maurice L. Rowntree, B.A., son of the late Joshua Rowntree, "at the request of the 'War and Social Order' committee of the Society of Friends, for those who are seeking a more just and humane social order in which war shall be eliminated" (London: Headley, 7 by 4½, pp. 108, 6d. net). Before the book was finally passed for press, the author was arrested under the Military Service Acts and is now undergoing two years hard labour.

Notes and Queries

KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

D.—Friends' Reference Library, Devonshire House, 136, Bishopsgate, London, E.C.2.

Camb. Jnl.—*The Journal of George Fox*, published by the Cambridge University Press, 1911.

D.N.B.—*The Dictionary of National Biography*.

F.Q.E.—*Friends' Quarterly Examiner*.

BENJAMINA, CANDIA, TACE (xiii. 126, 169). Lucy Hannah Southall writes respecting *Candia* that there is a tradition that the personal name came from the island Candia or Crete, in which, perhaps, the family having the name in it had property or that the first Candia was born there.

Candia Corbyn (1671-1767) was a daughter of John and Celicia Handley, of Pontypool, and became the wife of John Corbyn (c. 1669-1752/3), of Worcester, in 1696. She was a Minister for seventy-three years. From *Candia* Corbyn descended the name *Candia* to the families of Burlingham, Palmer, Pumphrey and Barrow.

There was another early Quaker *Candia* in the South Wales district, daughter of Richard and Mary Hanbury, born 1688, died 1691 (or 1721), see *The Family of Hanbury*, vol. ii., p. 232, compared with vol. ii. p. 244; also a *Candia* Hanbury (-1789), widow of Charles Hanbury (1677-1735).

There was a *Tary* Aldridge, widow, of Stonehouse, Glos., who

married William Bat, 26th Oct., 1615. Also a *Tace* Bradford, who died in London, 1694.

BURIED LIKE A DOG—(xiv. 43). This expression was also used earlier—"Anthonie Penniston, Quaker, Buried his mother like a dog in his garden" (see THE JOURNAL, viii. 110).

TONES IN PREACHING (xiil. 124 and xiv. 42).—I have come upon other references to this matter. On the death of Thomas Thompson (1632-1704), Kelk Monthly Meeting (S.E. Yorks.) issued a "testimony" concerning him in which it is stated: "He had a good delivery free from all sorts of tones and affectations of speech." His son, also named Thomas Thompson, bears the same witness: "He had a suitable testimony for such people [non-Friends], being sound and convincing, plain and powerful, without any sort of tone, distinct in his delivery, easy to be understood." In *A Second Letter from a Friend in the Country to his Friend in London*, 1717, the anonymous writer, defending

certain ministers from aspersions cast on them says, "I shall observe that it seems very strange that any person pretending to be a Friend, or to have any love for them can reflect on G—n for having a tone in his delivery, since a reflection of this nature must fasten on some other persons, and such, perhaps, for whom they may have the greatest veneration." I do not know who G—n was.* The tone or song which middle aged persons remember in the ministry of many Friends appears to have been unwelcome in early days.

In *The Quakri at Lurgan* (1877) a satirical description of the discussion in Ulster Q.M. concerning the introduction of music into Lisburn School, one speaker is represented as speaking of music and saying:

And why should we denounce it,
Who, as a people, prize
Those sweet melodious accents !!!
Which from our Elders rise ?

A. NEAVE BRAYSHAW.

RICHARD DAVIS WEBB, son of James and Deborah Webb (members of the Society of Friends), was born in Dublin, 19th Second Month, 1805. In 1833 he married Hannah Waring, of Waterford, and they had two sons and two daughters. Alfred, Richard, Deborah and Anne.

R. D. Webb was very active in the Anti-Slavery cause. For many years he printed and published the "Anti-Slavery Advocate," a weekly paper, and also

* This was probably William Gibson (1674-1734). See *THE JOURNAL*, i. 22.—ED.

contributed articles to it. His house in Dublin was the Irish home of American Abolitionists who always were warmly welcomed there. He contributed articles on Anti-Slavery to American magazines, but besides these and his life of John Brown, did not publish much. "John Brown" came out about 1861 (curiously enough his one surviving child, Deborah Webb, has not a copy of it).

He was actively engaged in Temperance work and was intimate with Father Mathew. The cause of Peace also claimed his interest and service. In 1848 he spent some time in the West of Ireland investigating the conditions of the starving peasantry during the famine, and assisting in the work of relief.

Among his many friends and acquaintances were the American leaders of the Anti-Slavery movement, Daniel O'Connell, Harriet Martineau and Mrs. Jameson. He visited Wordsworth, Maria Edgeworth and Whittier in their homes.

He died 14th Seventh Month, 1872. Twenty-one years previously he had resigned his membership in the Society of Friends, but I believe he never joined any other religious denomination.

EDITH WEBB.

LIFE, LETTERS AND JOURNAL OF GEORGE TICKNOR, 1876 (George Ticknor, American man of letters, b. 1791, d. 1871, Vol. i. pp. 298-9).

[In 1819 his voyage home from Liverpool in a "regular New York packet" was prosperous and

smooth, occupying but thirty-seven days. Among the passengers was Professor Griscom, "a Quaker chemist of New York, an excellent old gentleman with no small knowledge of the world."]

"As they neared the land the wind was unfavourable, and the captain relieved Mr. Ticknor's impatience by putting him on board a pilot-boat off Gay's Head, by which he was taken in 6 or 7 hours to New Bedford. By this unpremeditated 'change of base' he landed on his native shores without money, of which a supply would have met him in New York; but his eagerness to be at home made this of no consequence, and he liked to describe his mode of meeting the difficulty and the kindness it called forth. Going to the best hotel in the town, he asked the landlord who was the richest man in New Bedford, and being told it was Mr. William Rotch, he went immediately to him and stated his case. Mr. Rotch, without hesitation, lent him the money he asked; and, thus provided, he hired a chaise in which he started at about 10 in the evening, drove all through the warm summer night under a full moon, and reached his father's house [in Boston] at seven in the morning on the 6th of June."

MARGARET E. HIRST.

CHARLES JAMES FOX AND FRIENDS.—Richard Cobden declared at the Manchester Peace Conference in 1853 that "the Society of Friends co-operated with Mr. Fox in trying to prevent

the war of 1793, and that Mr. Fox was not at all ashamed to write to Mr. Gurney of Norwich, begging him to get up country meetings and to send petitions, whether from Quakers or others, to the House of Commons" (Morley's *Life of Cobden*, c. xxi. and Cobden's Speech in *Herald of Peace*, Feb. 1853).

Is anything known of the source of Cobden's information? I have found nothing in the standard Lives, etc., of Fox, nor in various Gurney memoirs.

MARGARET E. HIRST.
5, High Street, Saffron Walden.

DRESS.—John Gurney, shoemaker, strutting and hectoring like John of Gaunt, swinging about in his great hair-cloak, in stead of his leathern apron.—Bugg, *Third Bomb*. 1706.

OLD AND NEW IN MINISTRY.—The Lord was pleased to shew me, that old Matter, opened in new Life, was always new, and that it was the Renewings of the Spirit alone which made it new, and that the principal Thing I was to guard against was, not in my own Will to endeavour to bring in old Openings, without the Aid of the Spirit.
Life of Samuel Bownas, 1756, p. 17.

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THE JOURNAL

OF THE

FRIENDS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

For Table of Contents see page two of cover

The Annual Meeting

was held on 24th May, when a considerable number of members and others listened with close attention to an address by the President (R. H. Marsh) on the history of the Michael Yoakley Charity. The address, with illustrations, will appear, it is hoped, in the next number of THE JOURNAL. For list of Officers and financial statements see closing pages of this number.

A Private View of London Yearly Meeting in Sessions of 1818 and 1825

A VERY interesting manuscript has recently been presented to D., giving a full and informing account of the proceedings at two Yearly Meetings, seven years apart, in the early part of last century. The writer was Jonathan Hopkins Bowen (1798-1826), son of Simon Maw Bowen (c. 1772-1852), grocer, of Gainsborough. Simon Bowen was received into membership in 1793, and became an earnest Friend and an Elder (*Annual Monitor*, 1853). His son was also a grocer.

1818

Jonathan and his father left home on the 13th of Fifth Month, 1818, and reached 160, Bishopsgate, on the 16th. The next morning (Sunday) they attended meeting at Devonshire House, and listened to a discourse by John Shipley, then a young Minister, on the Divinity of Christ, and at night Joseph Allen, from Essex, " bore testimony to the nature and necessity of regeneration."

At the Adjourned General Meeting for Ackworth School held on Monday morning, a minute was read informing the Y.M. that " some children are sent to Ackworth in a state of great ignorance, even at an age when the period of childhood is so far elapsed as to leave little time for their improvement. . . . Some of them," it was added, " could not read words of one syllable." The minute was read in Y.M. later and " awakened a very lively interest, but no resolution was adopted." At a still later sitting the subject was re-introduced, and " many judicious remarks were made." The observations which came from John Wilkinson, of High Wycombe, then a prominent Friend, who later resigned his membership, " were peculiarly striking and appropriate ; but so much expression of approbation followed, that a few elderly friends thought it necessary to check this adulatory strain " ! The discussion resulted in " An Epistle on the subject of religious care over Children," which was printed in 1818, and reprinted in Ireland and New England.

The Y.M. proper opened on the 20th. " Four Appeals were received, viz., two from John Crouch against the Q.M. of Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire ; one from the M.M. of Westminster against the Q.M. of Kent, in a case of settlement ; and one from David Doeg, who had been disowned for insolvency, against the Q.M. of York. John Crouch also presented a complaint against the Q.M. of C. and H., which, after some discussion, was rejected as irregular." John Crouch withdrew his appeals. The Q.M. of Kent scored against Westminster M.M. But the Doeg appeal was not easily settled. The report of the Committee on this Appeal, stating that both sides had been fairly and fully heard,

and giving a decision in favour of York, was signed by only eighteen, whereas twenty-one signatures were requisite to constitute a final decision. It was therefore decided to hear the Appeal in the Y.M. itself. Over three hours was spent on this without a conclusion being reached, and another three on the following day. "A large body of valuable friends were of the judgment that the decision of the Q.M. should be confirmed; but great numbers being of an opposite sentiment, the former condescended, and the judgment of the Q.M. was finally annulled." [We may be thankful for the paucity of Appeals during recent years.]

William Dilworth Crewdson was appointed Clerk and William Allen and Thomas Maw his assistants.

On the 21st, our Friend attended the adjourned general meeting of the Tract Association. "The placing of this association directly under the notice of the Y.M. was deliberated upon, but declined for the present." [It is interesting to note that a similar subject is likely to come up again at next Y.M., one hundred years later.]

Much time was occupied with the answering of the Queries [the last of the answerable Queries have now been swept away] and numerous Testimonies were read [now rarely heard].

The intervisitation of the men's and women's meetings [now necessarily a thing of the past] was frequent.

On the 21st, Martha Smith, Hannah Field and Elizabeth (Joseph) Fry passed across the yard, with perhaps the same ceremonial which to some of us, when youthful attenders, served to relieve the tedium of the sittings. "E. Fry appeared in supplication and each of them afterwards addressed the meeting."

On the 28th, Robert Fowler and William Tuke joined "the troops of the shining ones," and the next morning five men Friends entered the women's meeting—Isaac Stephenson, Samuel Capper, Richard Phillips, with James Hack and William Grover as companions. How long they remained is not recorded.

The subject of Capital Punishment, referred to in the Epistle from Ireland, was under consideration more than once. "Friends appeared unanimous that this is a crying evil, which ought to be speedily and wholly done away." But after much exercise in ministry and prayer it was decided that the present was not the right time to address the legislature on the subject. "William Allen, in a beautiful strain of animated and impressive eloquence, alluded to the influence which the higher and middle classes of society possess over the lower; to the great responsibility which attaches to them for the depraved and vicious state of our population; to the magnitude of the subject now before us; and to the importance of our stepping rightly and seasonably forward in advocating the rights of humanity. . . . A committee was appointed to draw up a minute, which should record, for the first time, the Society's sentiments on this practise." When the minute was brought in, Friends were not so unanimous as before—"Samuel Loyd, John Wilkinson, and others, apprehending that the declaration, 'Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed,' is a sufficient warrant for punishing murder with death. Amongst others, W^m. Allen and W^m. Grover were of an opposite sentiment." But the minute was placed on record and the Meeting for Sufferings empowered to petition on behalf of the Y.M.

The amount of preaching which took place on all occasions is striking, and would appear to us in these days unduly to delay the business of the Y.M. Communications from Joseph John Gurney were very frequent and he often engaged in prayer. His sister, Elizabeth Fry (then usually known as Elizabeth (Joseph) Fry to distinguish her from her sister-in-law, Elizabeth Fry, "spinster"), often "appeared." Also between the sittings, in the houses of Friends resident in the vicinity, religious opportunities occurred and after-meal sermons were often preached. "After dinner at Joseph Fry's [Mildred Court], silence spread over the company: John Dymond, Mary Jeffrys, Olive Dymond and Eliz. (Josh.) Fry [the hostess] were each exercised in ministerial communications." "After dinner at John Sanderson's, Hannah Field [from the State

of New York, who is frequently mentioned], in addressing those present, expressed her belief that the eyes of others are much upon our Society," etc. On another occasion, at John Sanderson's at Old Jewry, "after dinner a solemn silent pause occurred. Hannah Field appeared in supplication and Mary Sanderson [hostess], Mary Dudley and Elizabeth Dudley [mother and daughter] were exercised in ministerial communications."

The introduction of selected minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings opened the way for a reference to the recent visit to the Continent of William Allen, Josiah Forster, Hannah Field, and Elizabeth Barker, the last-named from America, companion to H. Field. Reports from Sidcot, Islington and Wigton Schools were received and various epistles passed. On Saturday evening, the 30th, "under a very precious covering of great solemnity, the Y.M. closed."

"Luke Howard, in one of the sittings of the Y.M., related the following anecdote of Louis Majolier. Being left in trust for some property, he had, in consequence, to appear in a public court of justice; and when one of the inferior magistrates was about to tender him an oath, as is usual in such cases, the chief magistrate or mayor, interfering, said in substance, 'This man is one of the disciples of Penn, who do not swear; you may take his word without an oath.' The other hesitated to dispense with the legal form, but at length yielded; and when L. Majolier said, 'I promise it,' the mayor rejoined, 'And I guarantee it.'"

On J. H. Bowen's return journey he was informed that "William Tuke had now successively attended 50 yearly meetings;" and he heard of another who had attended fifty-three. He thought this latter was John Bludwick, of Warrington, but a note was added later to contradict this supposition.

1825

Again, in 1825, our young Friend, now aged twenty-seven, attended Y.M. accompanied by his father and cousins, Margaret and Phebe Maw. They left home on the 13th of Fifth Month and on the 15th (Sunday)

to the fact that the American Medical Association is a body of men who are not only interested in the health of the people but also in the health of the profession. The American Medical Association is a body of men who are not only interested in the health of the people but also in the health of the profession. The American Medical Association is a body of men who are not only interested in the health of the people but also in the health of the profession.

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attended meetings at Devonshire House—"that in the morning my father thought uncommonly small." Ann Jones, of Stockport, Mary Proud, of Essex, and James Wetherald, were among the speakers.

Y.M. convened on the 18th. "Several communications from friends in the ministry, several of whom are young in years." Josiah Forster was re-appointed Clerk and his brother, Robert, and Young Sturge assistants. Our Diarist seems to have been in a rather low spot—"This was a day of poverty and leanness"—"My own lot is yet as in a desert land."

In the third sitting, before any business was entered upon, Martha Smith and Sarah [Lynes] Grubb appeared, the former, seated, addressing the men, being too feeble to stand. Breviates of both addresses are given. In the fourth sitting "Eliz. Josh. Fry" came in to ask leave for the holding of a meeting with the youth, and her brother, J. J. Gurney, "requested liberty to unite." In the sixth sitting "J. J. Gurney and W. Allen visited the women's meeting, the friend above alluded to ["a dear young friend (S.F. of Wellington)"] requested permission, which was withheld on account of his not being as yet acknowledged as a minister by his monthly meeting." This was probably Samuel Fox, then aged thirty, father of our late friend, Joseph Hoyland Fox. He was "recorded" in 1827. In the seventh sitting, "Edward Carrol and James Marriage visited the women friends." In the eighth sitting, "W^m. Gundry and W^m. Smith visited the women's meeting," and later in the same, "W^m. Alexander requested permission to visit the women's meeting in the capacity of an Elder. Some friends expressed unity and sympathy, yet the meeting felt a difficulty in acquiescing for fear of constituting a wrong precedent; in the progress of the deliberation James Wetherald [a Minister] expressed a concern to go," which got the meeting out of a difficulty. In the eleventh sitting, "Richard Phillips and Silvanus Fox [brother of above Samuel] visited the women's meeting." In the twelfth and concluding sitting, Sarah Grubb came across to sit with the men.

More after-dinner sermons are recorded: "Dined at Mildred's Court. The party was gay and extremely

volatile, and but for a change of circumstance and scene which we could little anticipate, being there would not have afforded either to myself or my dear cousin J. H. who was with me any tolerable satisfaction. As there were more than the dining room could contain, the surplus (including a youth from Cornwall, myself, my cousin Joseph Hopkins and Thos. Pumphrey) sat down to table in the drawing room. J. J. Gurney came in after this arrangement and joined this little company, separated, as it might seem in the view of some, by accident, yet others of us chose rather to ascribe it to an over-ruling hand, and J. J. G., sending for Jon^a Pim, he afterwards addressed these five individuals successively." This quotation throws vivid light upon the conditions obtaining within the Society or among those allied to it. One wonders if some of the sprightly relatives of the hostess from Earham were there, and whether the "volatile" party in the dining room had to listen to personal remarks as had the select company in the drawing room.

The consideration of the state of the Society was the business of the fourth sitting, but the Clerk deprecated "the renewing of the exercise of the meeting in the usual direction, . . . and weightily drew the attention of the meeting to consider whether the love of the world and a desire to accumulate wealth had not greatly enfeebled the progress of its members . . . Particular allusion was made to the practice of keeping shops open during the time of week-day meetings, whereby part of the family is detained at home."

Already mutterings are heard of the storm soon to burst in America, in the matter of Elias Hicks. New York had been addressed by letter from the Meeting for Sufferings, and this letter was read, "expressive of a deep concern that we might be preserved a people on the everlasting foundation on which our faithful predecessors built testifying to the Divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and exhorting to faithfulness and vigilance in maintaining the fundamental doctrines of the Christian faith."

"There are no propositions this year, and no appeals."

On Sunday, 22nd, the morning meeting at Devonshire House "held $2\frac{3}{4}$ hours, Sarah Grubb being very largely engaged in extending a loud call to all to come and partake of the water of life freely. She was also very energetic on some doctrinal points, particularly the universality of Divine Grace."

Slavery and the Slave Trade occupied much time on the 23rd and later. In the evening of the 23rd the Fry-Gurney meeting for the youth, in the large meeting house, was "extremely crowded. . . . J. J. G. commented largely upon John iii. 36."

"Openings for civilization of Africa" received attention, and the proposed removal from North Carolina of 720 liberated Africans.

"In the twelfth and concluding sitting more unsettlement prevailed than I could have wished, occasioned partly by the forcible entry of some person not a member; and partly by a tedious criticism of the epistle."

Although keenly alive to the proceedings, our young Friend remained in low spirits throughout. "Pleasant bread has not been my portion, whilst attending this Y.M. . . . The privations I have had to bear have been wisely designed

To subject every wish of mine
Completely to the will divine."

At the Large Committee, "my name was proposed on the Committee for drafting an epistle to Ohio. I saw no hope of any good in this, unless it could contribute to make me feel myself as nothing, and therefore dared not to refuse."

J. H. Bowen died in the autumn of 1826, at the early age of twenty-eight. We fear some inherited weakness, as all the members of the family save one died between the ages of seventeen and twenty-eight. For his brother, John Bowen, see page 135.

This thirty-four page 8vo. MS. is very neatly written in one hand; as the date of the paper is 1829, it could not have been written by the narrator. The MS. was presented to D. by the Gravely family, of Wellingborough, 1917.

Presentations in Episcopal Visitations 1662:1679

Continued from vol. xiii., page 143

DURHAM (*Continued*)

EAST OF DURHAM CITY

HOUGHTON LE SPRING. 1662. Nov. 4. ('Howghton in le Spring.') Robtūm Hutton geñ, Robtū Ayton, geñ, Richūm Shipperdson, Richūm Middleton, Jo: Grinwell, — Carr de Cockey, Eliz: Sicelam [?], & Christoferum Rayer—for absenting themselves from the Church.

1665. Sept. 8. Joham Greenwell et Margaref, eius ux, Richūm Middleton et Mariam Shepherdson—for Quakers, eñ.

— ux Roberti Hutton, et Johem Grinwell—for not baptiseing their children, eñ.

Robertum Hutton, Mariā Shephardson, Janā Featherston, et Richūm Middleton—prius excoīcat^a in Visitacone primaria dñi Johis epi Dunelm.

Gulielmum Lilburne, Johem Greenwell, Richum Middleton, Cuthbertum Browne, Georgiū Wilkinson, Johem Smith, Tho: Meaburne, Margeriam Fathlay, Davidum Gleghome, Thomā Robinson, Margaretā Hunnall, Johem Tayler, Johem Mussett, Gulielmū Walton, Gulielmū Browne, Willmū Roantree, Marcum Blakiston, Jacobum Fatenby, Robertum Hewgill, Robertum Ridley, Thomā Short, Thomā Atkinson, Gulielmum Shawe, Thomā Harrison, Magdalinā Allinson, Willmūm Vardy, Henricū Carr, Dorotheā Wharton, vid., Willmūm Atkinson, Janā Todd, Willmūm Hall, Richūm Chilton, Thomā Forster, Cuthbertum Scrogs, Willmūm Lister, Robtūm Lorance, Robertum Olliver, Mattheum Dak, Johem Tayler, Thomā Walker, Willmūm Thornton, Robertum Watson Johem Waistell, Robertū Baker, Thomā Hornsby, Chrum Ranson, Henricum Liell,

Presentations in English Literature

1963-64

Continued from page 107

THEIR OWN LIVES

THEIR OWN LIVES

Presentations in English Literature
to be given: 1. *James Joyce's Ulysses*
2. *William Faulkner's The Sound and the Fury*
3. *John Galsworthy's The Forsyte Saga*
4. *Virginia Woolf's Mrs. Dalloway*
5. *W. Somerset Maugham's The Moon and Sixpence*
6. *Henry James's The Ambassadors*
7. *Edith Wharton's The Age of Innocence*
8. *Thomas Mann's Doctor Faustus*
9. *Gertrude Stein's The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas*
10. *James Joyce's Dubliners*
11. *William Faulkner's As I Lay Dying*
12. *John Galsworthy's The End of the Affair*
13. *Virginia Woolf's The Waves*
14. *W. Somerset Maugham's The Razor's Edge*
15. *Henry James's The Wings of the Dove*
16. *Edith Wharton's The House of Mirth*
17. *Thomas Mann's The Magic Mountain*
18. *Gertrude Stein's The Green Ankle*
19. *James Joyce's The Dead*
20. *William Faulkner's The Heat-Treated Man*
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98. *Thomas Mann's The Magic Mountain*
99. *Gertrude Stein's The Green Ankle*
100. *James Joyce's The Dead*

Christoph: Shave, Simonem Forster, Alex. Johnson, Anthonium Milburne, Johem Blenkinsopp, Georgiū Thompson, Robertum Stephenson, Cuthbertum Robinson, Michaelēm Chicken, Willmūm Rutter, Georgiū Lister, Edrū Whitfield, Willmū Bell, et Tho: Forster¹—for not paying y^e Clarke the groates due at Easter last.

MONK HESLEDEN. 1662. May 20. ('Moncke Hesledon.') Thomā Wood, Jacobū Hall et eius u^x, Johem Wilkinson, Juñ, Janā Hall, Margaretam Walker, Isabellā Walker, Christoferū Dodshon, Annā Pattison—for being quakers, & keeping their children unbaptized & their wives unchurched.

1665. Dec. 19. ('Hesleden Monac') Jacobū Hall et eius u^x, Johem Wilkinson, juñ, Margaretā Walker, Isabellā Walker, Annā u^x Johis Pattison, Jacobū Wilkinson, et Richūm Byers—for quakers & negligent comers to Church.

HART. 1662. May 26. ('Hart et Hartingpoole.') Johem Thompson, & Gulielmū Nicholson—for Quakers.

STRANTON. 1662. May 26. Geo: Williamson et eius u^x—for negligent comers to Church.

Jacob Hubbock, Willmum Dodshon, Robertum Allen, et Anthoniū Smith—for not receiving y^e Communion at Easter.

30 Sept. 1665. Dñ Robertus Allen, dismiss fuit.

12 May, 1666. Dñ Jacob. Hubbocke et fassus est—*absolut*.

Johem Atkin et Janā eius u^x, Johem Browne et Franciscā eius u^x, Willmum Atkin, Elizabetham u^x Willmī Dodshon, et Henricū Brown et Mariā eius u^x—as excoīcate psons having stood soe since 5th Feb. last.

1665. Oct. 5. Radulphum Chilton, Anthoniū Harrison, Georgiū Crowe, et Thomā Dodsworth—for non-paym^t of y^e assessm^t to y^e Church.

8 Dec. 1665. Dñus Georgius Crowe dism.

16 Junii, 1666. Dñus Richūs Chilton dism.¹

ELWICK. 1662. May 26. ('Elwicke'.) Robertum Young, & Mariā u^x Marci Staines, Ellenorā Atkin, et Annā u^x Thomæ Rawling—for Quakers.

¹ It must not be concluded that all the above were Friends.—G.L.T.

The first of these is the fact that the
 Journal of the American Medical Association
 is published weekly, and is the only
 medical journal published in the United States
 which is not published by a medical association.

The second of these is the fact that the
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 is published by a non-profit corporation,
 and is not published for the profit of any
 individual or group of individuals.

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WEARDALE. S. & W. OF DURHAM CITY

BRAUNCEPETH. 1662. Oct. 5. Petrum Mason, Jacobum Fewster et eius u \bar{x} , Henricū Emmerson, Richum Emmerson et eius u \bar{x} , Isabellā Emmerson et Johem Crooke—for Quakers.

WHITWORTH. 1665. W^m. Anderson, se \tilde{n} , Georgiū Emmerson et Magdalenā eius u \bar{x} , Aliciā Adamson, Mariā Grinwell, et Elis : Stott—for Quakers.

Georgiā Pickering et Johem Adamson—for negligent Com^{rs} to Church.

Georgiū Emmerson—for not baptiseing his child.

Robertū Taylor et Richū Hopper—for refusing to pay y^e Church Sess.

MERRINGTON [Church or Kirk Merrington]. 1662. Nov. 4. Henricū Lax et Robtum Wood—for Quakers.

1665. Henricū Lax, Robertum Wood, — u \bar{x} Richi Allen, Edrū Georgiū Shawler, et Edrū Unthank et eius u \bar{x} —for quakers and Nonconformists.

Johem Maxwell—for teaching a private schoole without Licence.

G. LYON TURNER

It is not being educated in the form of truth ; it is not the profession of it, nor being called a Quaker ; it is not barely frequenting our religious meetings ; it is not even being of a moral conversation—that will do or be acceptable to the Lord, unless we also witness a possession and enjoyment of the Holy Truth, and the life and power of it, in our souls.
—*Life of Joseph Pike* (d. 1729), 1837, p. 38.

We urge our men who are active and useful in business to consecrate to the work of the Church those talents which bring them prosperity in worldly affairs. While success in the service of Christ depends upon our personal union with Him and not upon organisation, the coming of the Kingdom lags while men give their best to their business interests.

From the Report of the Summary Committee of the International Conference of Men Friends, Richmond, Ind., 1915.

“The Schoolmaster is abroad ! and I trust more to him, armed with his primer, than I do to the soldier in full military array, for upholding and extending the liberties of his country.”—LORD BROUGHAM, 1828.

[Quoted in Bulletin of Oakwood Seminary, Union Springs, N.Y. 1915-16.]

WILLIAM L. G. & SONS, LONDON

Respectfully, the Editor of the London Standard, London, 18th June 1888.

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 14th inst.

and in reply to inform you that the same has been forwarded to the proper authorities.

I am, Sir, very respectfully, Sir, your obedient servant,

W. L. G. & SONS, LONDON.

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and in reply to inform you that the same has been forwarded to the proper authorities.

I am, Sir, very respectfully, Sir, your obedient servant,

W. L. G. & SONS, LONDON.

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 14th inst.

and in reply to inform you that the same has been forwarded to the proper authorities.

Richard Smith and his Journal 1817-1824

Continued from page 69

THE last chapter in Richard Smith's life begins at the time of the Yearly Meeting of 1823, when he offered himself for service in Africa, and was accepted.

A short *résumé* of the inception and aims of the Committee for African Instruction will explain what follows.

The Committee arose out of a concern which Hannah Kilham⁶² [1774-1832], a Sheffield Friend, first brought forward towards the close of the year 1819. Her views were two-fold—the personal instruction of individuals, and the establishment of an Institute for cultivating some of the unwritten languages of Africa, with the intention of composing elementary books and translating portions of the Scriptures.

The effort began by H. K. taking two African youths as pupils⁶³; she attained considerable proficiency in the Walof language; and when the time came for inquiry as to the prospects of a mission station in Africa, the Committee received an unexpected offer from William Singleton,⁶⁴ of Loxley near Sheffield—under whose care the two youths had been for some time receiving English education—to go to Africa to make investigations.

William Singleton left London on the eighth of Twelfth Month, 1820, and reached England again on the eighteenth of Seventh Month, 1821; and, shortly afterwards, sent the Committee a full and very interesting report⁶⁵ of his voyage to the Gambia and to Sierra Leone. This report encouraged the Committee to dispatch a party, headed by Hannah Kilham, to make the first attempt at a settlement; but various circumstances delayed their start, and it was not until the autumn of 1823 that the preparations were complete and the mission left England; of the party R. S. was one.

When the proposed mission first came to the notice of R. S. is not stated, but it certainly aroused his attention and sympathy during the Y.M. of 1822; at which an address of the Meeting for Sufferings to the Inhabitants of Europe on behalf of the Oppressed Africans was read; and he dined with Friends interested in the project—Luke Howard,⁶⁶ John Eliot⁶⁷ and John Sanderson,⁶⁸ the Treasurer of the Committee. At a meeting appointed by Anna Braithwaite⁶⁹ at the end of this Y.M. “the words arose in my heart, Lord, choose for me, in allusion to African exercise.”

After his return home, we find :

1822.

6 mo. 14. Much exercised at Night, & queried whether it might not be safest to write to Jno. Eliot.

10 mo. 4. After my silent Meditation this morning felt freedom to draft a Letter to John Eliot, of which I afterwards wrote a fair Copy, and sent it by post, offering myself to go out there; w^{ch} resulted in peace.

Six days later he received the reply, “w^{ch} resulted in peace to my mind, & much relieved it.”

On account, no doubt, of the delays experienced by the Committee, no further steps were taken by R. S. till the close of the Y.M. of 1823, to which he was a representative, and journeyed on foot, as before: he again records the deliberations in detail. On the 29th of Fifth Month, he called on L. Howard, where was Robert Forster,⁷⁰ and referred them to his letter of the previous Tenth Month to John Eliot; and on the 2nd of Sixth Month, he appeared before the Committee, and was accepted to go to Africa. The Friends present were:—Luke Howard, Robert Forster, John Sanderson, William Allen,⁷¹ Peter Bedford,⁷² Edward Carroll,⁷³ Thomas Newman,⁷⁴ George Jones, Richard Cockin and wife,⁷⁵ James Cropper,⁷⁶ Jonathan Backhouse,⁷⁷ J. Tregelles Price,⁷⁸ Samuel Tuke,⁷⁹ and others. “After I returned to my lodgings, I was favoured with the reward of peace, though I felt somewhat embarrassed and bound up when the Members of the Committee put questions to me, particularly L. H., whether my view was Ministry.”

Being now launched on this service, R. S. did not return home at once; he was put in charge of the two

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African youths, Mahmadee and Sandanee, and spent the next seven weeks as their tutor, during which time he was living with them at Friends' houses round London, mostly at Tottenham. The Journal recounts many comings and goings, though little to extract; the following are the most striking:

1823.

6 mo. 18. L. H. shewed a Letter to us from W. Wilberforce to him, dated 2 mo. 22, 1821, on the subject of African civilization, wherein he recommended at least 3 years instruction of Natives in this Country. — Davis,⁸⁰ a Friend at Bath, was the person with whom he had conversed on the subject. W. W. tendered his subscription, which he wished was 10 times greater—remarked on the great reparation due to Africa from this Country, which, instead of facilitating Christianization, by commercial intercourse, had by a contrary conduct retarded its progress . . . [L. H.] read a sample of his Journal; if he had to begin again, would notice every Book he perused.

6 mo. 21. Felt freedom of mind to order a new suit of clothes at W. Edmunds, Tottenham . . . Informed of public Meeting lately held at Dorking by J. J. G.,⁸¹ when Floor of a room fell or slanted by reason of Beam giving way, but Meeting ended well.

During this time in London, R. S. paid a good many visits to schools, to get some insight into the methods adopted by teachers.

Luke Howard took Mahmadee and Sandanee to his house at Ackworth for the General Meeting there, and R. S. walked, in seven days, to rejoin them. After a week there, he left for Leek on the 5th of Eighth Month. Before he started, L. H. addressed him encouragingly at breakfast on the subject of his mission, telling him that the principal management, as regarded the men, would devolve on him. "My walking had been satisfactory to him since we were brought together." He reached Leek on the 7th, early enough to attend the Monthly Meeting, where he applied for a certificate for Africa, and "Friends freely and encouragingly united."

The next two months were spent in his usual varied pursuits, and the entries in the Journal show great diligence in the business of the office.

9 mo. 9. C. H. queried of me pleasantly, when did I go to Africa? and said, I had better stay, in his opinion. Thankfulness arose in my heart, being far different to what I looked for.

ON THE THEORY OF THE EARTH

The theory of the earth is a branch of geology which deals with the origin and development of the earth and its various parts. It is a science which seeks to explain the causes of the various geological phenomena which we observe in nature. The theory of the earth is a science which is constantly developing, and it is one of the most important branches of geology.

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During the last few days in Ninth Month he wound up the various affairs of which he had charge and made his will; and there is some hint of the distribution of his personal possessions. It is pleasant to think that his parting with his brothers was affectionate :

1823.

- 9 mo. 29. . . . a Crown of Peace before leaving Alton, which was a tendering & Memorable season with the Family.
9 mo. 30. Taking leave of brother Thomas, a little from his Residence, was a memorable Season.

The parting from his brother-in-law is thus described :

- 10 mo. 1. Prepared my Account with C. H. who paid me my demand, for which I expressed to him my obligation. Took leave of him, at which he manifested surprize.

On the evening of this day, having been sent for by L. Howard to come to London at once, he left Leek by coach, travelling outside.

Another three weeks elapsed before the embarkation, occupied in preparations and purchases, and in learning lithography.

- 10 mo. 3. Attended the Meeting of the Committee. . . . I expressed a few words, particularly on the Subject of my return & trying departure from my Friends, on which P. B. feelingly expressed his hope.

- 10 mo. 13. Ordered Clothes at Silver & Co's, 9, Cornhill.

On the 25th of Tenth Month, 1823, the party, consisting of Hannah Kilham, Richard Smith, John Thompson and his sister Ann, of Cooladine, Enniscorthy, Ireland⁸² (who had been accepted shortly before), besides Mahmadee and Sandanee, went on board the brig *James* at Gravesend.

The Committee had prepared a set of "Ten Regulations to be observed by the Members of Friends' Settlement on the River Gambia," the first of which sets out :

The object of this undertaking is the instruction of the natives of Africa in the principles of the Christian religion, in common school-learning and in such arts and improvements (especially those connected with agriculture or gardening, and domestic economy) as may be found suitable to the situation and climate.

A short devotional meeting was to be held daily; there was to be cessation of labour on First-days, and meetings for worship were to be held twice; the settlers were to

During the last days of the year 1800, the French government, in order to avoid the war, had concluded a treaty with the British government, by which the French government agreed to evacuate the British islands, and the British government agreed to evacuate the French islands.

The British government, however, did not evacuate the French islands, and the French government, in consequence, declared war on the British government, and the war continued until the year 1801, when the British government, in order to avoid the war, had concluded a treaty with the French government, by which the French government agreed to evacuate the British islands, and the British government agreed to evacuate the French islands.

The French government, however, did not evacuate the British islands, and the British government, in consequence, declared war on the French government, and the war continued until the year 1802, when the French government, in order to avoid the war, had concluded a treaty with the British government, by which the French government agreed to evacuate the British islands, and the British government agreed to evacuate the French islands.

The British government, however, did not evacuate the French islands, and the French government, in consequence, declared war on the British government, and the war continued until the year 1803, when the British government, in order to avoid the war, had concluded a treaty with the French government, by which the French government agreed to evacuate the British islands, and the British government agreed to evacuate the French islands.

The French government, however, did not evacuate the British islands, and the British government, in consequence, declared war on the French government, and the war continued until the year 1804, when the French government, in order to avoid the war, had concluded a treaty with the British government, by which the French government agreed to evacuate the British islands, and the British government agreed to evacuate the French islands.

The British government, however, did not evacuate the French islands, and the French government, in consequence, declared war on the British government, and the war continued until the year 1805, when the British government, in order to avoid the war, had concluded a treaty with the French government, by which the French government agreed to evacuate the British islands, and the British government agreed to evacuate the French islands.

The French government, however, did not evacuate the British islands, and the British government, in consequence, declared war on the French government, and the war continued until the year 1806, when the French government, in order to avoid the war, had concluded a treaty with the British government, by which the French government agreed to evacuate the British islands, and the British government agreed to evacuate the French islands.

The British government, however, did not evacuate the French islands, and the French government, in consequence, declared war on the British government, and the war continued until the year 1807, when the British government, in order to avoid the war, had concluded a treaty with the French government, by which the French government agreed to evacuate the British islands, and the British government agreed to evacuate the French islands.

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meet monthly in conference ; and Hannah Kilham and Richard Smith were to be heads of the settlement and trustees for the property.

Some idea of the discomfort of the voyage may be reached from the dimensions of the *James* : she was of 140 tons burthen, eighty feet long, fifteen feet broad, about the size of a modern canal boat, though deeper in the water, as she drew thirteen feet : the mast was ninety feet high : at any rate, she proved that she was seaworthy. Encountering a heavy storm in the Channel, of which the *Memoir* of H. K. has a most vivid account, they took refuge a week later behind the Isle of Wight, and made a fresh start from Cowes on the 8th of Eleventh Month ; passed Madeira on the 21st ; had a few hours on shore, described in detail, at Teneriffe on the 28th, and reached Bathurst on the Gambia river on the 8th of Twelfth Month, 1823.

The party suffered severely from sea-sickness, and from the confinement within the narrow limits of the brig, which told seriously on R. S., whose habits had always included so much walking exercise. During the voyage R. S. copied the log-book into his Journal on most days ; a few extracts may be made :

11 mo. 1. Marvellous deliverance from imminent Danger about mid-Night, to all human appearance. [This was the storm in the Channel.]

11 mo. 16. Still weak low and debilitated. My Clothes are become too large for me.

11 mo. 18. H. K. much enfeebled.

11 mo. 23. Ann Thompson's Admonition to G. W. H. on his witticism on Scripture was relieving to my mind. Comforted in retirement, accompanied with love to the poor Sailors ; felt relief in handing a Bible to them. At the M SS account read by G. W. H. felt uneasy. . . . At the desire of H. K., read a part of 3^d Chapter of Penn's Reflections and Maxims to our company in the Cabin, after which we had a pause.

[The passengers in all numbered 11.]

11 mo. 24. G. W. H. this evening again speaking lightly of Scriptures, I expressed that it felt painful to me.

11 mo. 29. [At Teneriffe] To the Cathedral, when a Priest took umbrage at our hats, & we left the place.

- 12 mo. 8. Natives [came] on board ; some of them had a striking effect on my mind, so that I wept as it were for Joy, being much enlarged in heart towards them. . . . Gave present of Money and a Bible (in the name of company) to the sailors which was well rec^d.

On landing, the party were hospitably welcomed by the Commandant and the British community ; a merchant put a vacant house at their disposal, and the Commandant himself conducted them to Birkow (Bakkàoo, variously Englished as Barcou, Berkow, and Birkow) on Cape St. Mary, eight miles from Bathurst, near the sea, which was considered the best spot for the proposed experiment ; and had been pronounced by W. Singleton as the most favourable site he had visited. There they found a good stone house erected by the Government, which Sir Charles McCarthy,⁸³ the Governor of Sierra Leone, very readily placed at the service of the mission ; and here R. S. presently settled : he set about preparing a garden, digging a well, and improving the house, which had never been inhabited—a kitchen and storerooms were built, and the place generally made habitable.

- 12 mo. 14. On J. Thompson speaking about Sopha, H. K. remarked that idleness was a great sin of this country, which will have to be guarded against.

The women Friends opened a girls' school at Bathurst, and J. Thompson companied with R. S. at Birkow.

1824.

- 1 mo. 14. When I look back a little, since leaving England coming here *is felt* to have cost something, nevertheless, I have so far been supported & carried through to the praise of the Great Creator.
- 1 mo. 19. Felt some compunction at having destroyed some Ants in the sugar, by firing paper.

On the 8th of Second Month, H. K. and J. Thompson left to visit Sierra Leone ; and on the 11th, R. S. set off with the Alcaide of Birkow and Mahmadee as interpreter to visit the king of Combo, in whose territory Birkow was situated. He took with him a present for the king :

- 1 piece blue Baft.
5 Turkey red check Hkfs.
18 Childrens pocket Hkfs.
1 Umbrella.

- 1 Straw Hat.
16 Girls' work bags, printed calico.
14 Pin Cushions.
1½ quire Letter paper.

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1824.

- 2 mo. 11. Arrived at Yendum, where the Alcaide & I alighted and rested $1\frac{1}{2}$ hour at the house of his Friend ; in the meantime, information had been sent to the King, who lives at a barricadoed town about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile further. . . . Several of the head Men accompanied us to the house of the King, which, though larger appeared little if any superior to the other houses ; many palm Trees. Skins were placed on the Floor, on which the Natives sat, and an English chair I was directed to. The King came soon & sat on a spotted Goat Skin that had grigees [charms]. After we were seated, his first communication to me through Mahmadee was an expression of his love to us. The Alcaide informed him, "I come down with my White Man to visit you, White Man wants to settle in your Land, & before he settles, he comes to see you." The King answered, "I am very glad of that." The Man which we staid with (head Man) then told the King, "They bring something to come to see you ; I opened all the things in my house to see what they bring you."

The King answered him, All is right, and what we come for to see him is all very good : he is very pleased with the things. If any body comes to settle in another strange Land, if he come to the Master of the Land and shew himself to him, it is all right ; something might happen, he (the Master) can help them ; but if they not come to him first, if any injury happen, he can not help them ; so if the King only *heard* of us being in the Land, if any injury happen, he can not help us.

The head Man then opened the Present ; the King said he never had so fine small Bags before. (3 of his Wives were also pleased with the Bags & Pin Cushions.) The King expressed himself well-pleased with the present and much obliged to us for our Kindness, and the Alcaide did right to come with us (instead of sending his son).

Our Certificate was read, which was interpreted by Mahmadee, and enlarged upon by the Alcaide, which I judged took up an hour. The Slave Trade was spoken about. . . . Sandanee's and Mahmadee's instruction in England was explained by the Alcaide, which the King said was very kind of the Friends.

School instruction was spoken about : the Alcaide said his children were taught the Arabic, & he had no desire for them to learn the English language. A proposal was made to the King through the Alcaide for taking a youth in about 2 months : the King said, he cannot tell yet, till he see how we settle first ; when we are ready to receive the Boy, to let the Alcaide know, who will send word to the King ; who not yet settled in his Mind whether he will send a Boy.

- 2 mo. 19. Went to Barracks respecting Boat, where I had an opportunity for a few words to Soldiers, particularly to one for swearing.
3 mo. 21. Darned Duster & hemmed a Dish Cloth in evening.

The two young Africans often gave a good deal of trouble :

1824.

- 3 mo. 28. Mussa [one of his servants] tenderly addressed Mahmadee respecting his conduct towards me.
- 3 mo. 29. Preserved in much serenity in a trying situation with S. and M. this evening, whose conduct exceeded all bounds of decency. . . . The House this evening had the appearance of a Tavern, broken chairs, lantern, &c., thrown about the Room. . . . Still continued to be tried with Mahmadee's malignant disposition, who peremptorily demanded his Box, which I refused.

On the 8th of Fourth Month, he heard that H. K. and J. T. had returned from Sierra Leone to Bathurst, and on the 11th went over to attend the Monthly Conference. In the meeting for worship "desires that an increased Degree of knitting together might be experienced" were expressed.

- 4 mo. 22. Sat with J. T. at 12: my Mind exercised on his account.

[It would appear from Luke Howard's letter of 6th mo. 7th, 1825, that some references to differences between R. S. and J. T. have been omitted from the transcript.]

On the 26th of Fourth Month, R. S. made an expedition up the river to Jillifree and Albreda. The French Commandant at the latter place had been a prisoner of war at Leek, where R. S. had seen him!

- 5 mo. 24. A little Light seemed to break in as to my stay in this Country; I look a little towards a year.

About this time the girls' school at Bathurst was given up, and the whole party gathered at Birkow. A month's residence there "satisfied them of the eligibility of the place for a permanent settlement, but of the impossibility of their all remaining there during the coming rainy season. Moreover, the Government had intended this building for a convalescent hospital for the general use of the Colony; and as the house comprised but one sitting-room and two lodging rooms, the idea of receiving young persons to be trained as teachers was quite impracticable." In these circumstances, it was decided that H. K. and the Thompsons should return to England before the rainy season, and they sailed on the 24th of Sixth Month. John Thompson died on the voyage, from a chill caught on board, not from the climate.

A few more extracts may be made:

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1824.

- 6 mo. 5. Annoyed & tried by Sandanee, who was intoxicated and threw an Iron at me with great vehemence.
- 6 mo. 14. Went with J. T. to most of the Merchants [at Bathurst] to inquire if Sandanee & Mahmadee owed them money.
- 6 mo. 22. [When, no doubt, feeling the coming departure of his companions] On board the *Sarah*, when in cabin, felt comforted in Mind on reflecting that my time was not yet come.
- 6 mo. 30. The Alcaide came and informed that he had seen the King, who sent his Service, & offered to do anything in his power to serve me. Informed J. T. Watch was found in the Bush.
- 7 mo. 6. Redeemed Humman Jie from domestic slavery for \$35.
- 7 mo. 7. Information that Sandanee was put in Jail. [Note by L.H.—“for being drunk and I conclude riotous.”]

The printed reports of the Committee contain no letters from R. S.: those from H. K. and J. T. make only slight incidental mention of him and his work; neither is much help to be had from the *Memoir of Hannah Kilham*, in which R. S.'s name occurs but occasionally. He worked mostly independently, with frequent help from J. T. With native labour supplied by the Alcaide, the settlement had been brought to a good degree of efficiency. On her return home, H. K. prepared, as a memorandum for the Committee, a clear review of Birkow when she left it, which gives a better idea of the work done by R. S. and J. T. in the six months than can be gathered from the Journal itself:

The establishment was left as agreeably settled as could be hoped for, and more so than we could have expected, for so short a time of residence. The garden, of about half an acre, enclosed, and several fruits and vegetables in cultivation. The distance, indeed, nearly a mile from the house; but the situation good, and the soil fertile. A well made in the garden, which gave for it and for the family, a constant supply of good water. A kind of carriage, prepared for bringing up water in a cask for the house, drawn by a horse, the first taught to perform labour in that district, and the wheels the first pair ever used at the Cape. The plough sent out by the Committee had been brought into use, and the land near the house was preparing against the rainy season. The house department was pretty well settled, and an inventory taken of the linen and other articles. Provisions had been laid in against the rains, so as to prevent the necessity of much communication with the island, as it is then often difficult. A young native married couple were living with R. Smith in the house. The wife, who had been our scholar and servant at Bathurst, can cook, wash, mangle, &c., having been accustomed to European families. She speaks English, Jaloof and a little Mandingo. A boy on the premises

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can interpret Mandingo for R. Smith who is now about to apply to the acquisition of that language for himself. A set of lessons has been prepared in the Mandingo, a copy of which is left with R. Smith for his use. A school had been opened on First-days, for the instruction of the boys and girls of Birkow in Mandingo. There was also an evening school for the few young people of the family. These schools were intended to be continued by our friend, R. Smith. The stores, farming and other implements and school-apparatus, were removed to the Cape; the store-room neatly fitted up with shelves, and the things arranged. Our friend, R. Smith, is well-qualified to act in these concerns, and he has the esteem and confidence of the people. The disposition of the Alcaide of Birkow was very open and friendly toward us to the time of our departure, as was evinced by his sending his children to our school, which, in the first interview at Bathurst, he had declined. The Alcaide informed John Thompson, when about to take leave of him, that he regarded him as his son, and that if any one were to offer an injury to R. Smith, he should consider it as done to himself. We found that we could now leave Birkow with satisfaction, although deeply attached to the cause in which we were engaged.—(*Circular from the Committee on African Instruction*, dated 10 ix. 1824.)

But the arrangements which seemed so comfortable to H. K. were not destined to last; a fortnight after the *Sarah* had sailed, R. S. was feverish, and though he worked on diligently for a few days, by the 22nd of Seventh Month he was "much exhausted and no appetite for Meat, but thirsty: lay down most of day—felt better in the evening." This is the last entry; a letter from Captain Grant tells the rest. R. S. sent in to Bathurst on the morning of the 24th for medicine, which the doctor sent, at the same time urging him to come in to the hospital. Feeling better on the 25th, he postponed doing so till the next morning: when, though carefully tended in the hospital, he failed to rally, and passed away on the 30th—Mr. Morgan, a Wesleyan missionary, and Sandanee being with him all night.

R. S. had rarely been really well ever since he left England: the journal in Africa indicates that he was seldom feeling "fit," being constantly troubled by the functional derangement caused by the confinement on the voyage. The official description of the climate of the Gambia can say no more than that it is "fairly healthy in the dry season;" no doubt he was often about and at work when he had better have rested. He laboured assiduously at the garden, and mentions more than once

that he was wet to the waist in crossing creeks between Birkow and Bathurst. It is possible that he was not so strong of constitution as his friends supposed—that his privations in America had sown seeds of weakness which had been kept in check by an active life in Staffordshire, but were ready to develop when the opportunity occurred. Captain Grant, in his letter, attributes the final breakdown to over-exertion on the morning of the 22nd, when R. S. was ploughing with horses that had not been employed in that way for several days and were “rather ungovernable.”

Those who wish a very detailed account of this missionary enterprise on the Gambia may consult the *Memoir of Hannah Kilham*, which devotes eighty-eight pages to the subject. A year later she realised that her admonition about idleness had been perhaps too hasty. “We were ourselves often too closely occupied, and health, in some of us, consequently suffered. . . . Now I regret that we did not more frequently urge their leaving anything undone, rather than endanger their health by so much exertion.”

JOHN D. CROSFIELD

(To be concluded)

⁶¹ For Hannah Kilham, see THE JOURNAL, x. 52. Her *Memoir* was prepared by her step-daughter-in-law, Sarah Biller. See also *The Life of Alexander Kilham* [1762-1798], *Methodist Preacher*, Nottingham, 1799.

Various lesson-books in Mandingo and Jaloof, etc., were published between 1823 and 1828 (several in D.).

⁶² The information respecting these two African youths is fragmentary, but apparently they had been common sailors before the mast, and were removed from some ship in an English port; and later, in 1823, their emancipation was effected in Africa, the sum of £46 7s. having been paid therefor. One, Sandanee, was from Goree, on the west coast of Africa, and the other, Mahmadee, from the banks of the Gambia. They both spoke the Jaloof (or Waloof) language. They were placed under the care of Hannah Kilham in Third Month, 1820, and later received instruction from William Singleton at Loxley, and William Impey at Earl's Colne. They were frequent visitors at Friends' houses around London. Favourable reports of conduct and progress were issued from time to time.

It must have been a great disappointment to those who had befriended them that when again in the country of their birth they should relapse into pernicious ways and belie their early promise. Mahmadee left the service of the Committee and established himself in a Mandingo

village. Sandanee disappeared from view under the care of a Wesleyan minister at Bathurst, not having "evinced a stability of conduct equal to his talent for conducting a native school."

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⁶⁵ This report was published in the Report of the Committee in 1822. In 1823 £20 was paid "as a gratuity, to William Singleton, in consideration of the use of his Journal for the Report published."

⁶⁶ Luke Howard, F.R.S. (1772-1864), of Tottenham and Ackworth, was a scientist and *littérateur*. He was deeply interested in the Journal of Richard Smith and his work in Africa. In 1836 he resigned his membership among Friends, in connection with the Beacon Controversy. In his magazine, *The Yorkshireman* (1833-1837), there are references to Richard Smith, and letters to Toft Chorley are among the Richard Smith MSS. in D.

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⁷¹ William Allen, F.R.S. (1770-1843), minister, philanthropist, and scientist, prominent in all good works.

* This pamphlet was sold for one shilling, "the profits (if any) will be devoted to the cause of Africa." Some of his letters relating to his visit to Africa are in the possession of his great grandson, John W. Singleton, F.L.A., Borough Librarian, Accrington, and have been on loan in D.

Friends' Reference Library

Devonshire House, 136, Bishopsgate, London, E.C. 2

Belonging to London Yearly Meeting
of the Religious Society of Friends

Librarian:

NORMAN PENNEY, F.S.A., F.R.Hist.S.

Assistant Librarians:

M. ETHEL CRAWSHAW
GRACE YEWDALL

This Library was established in 1673 with the aim of collecting material relating to Friends. It has now become the largest repository in the world of Quaker literature and information. Dr. Thomas Hodgkin termed it "The British Museum of Quakerism."

There is no complete printed Catalogue, but practically everything noted by Joseph Smith in his "Catalogue of Friends' Books," published in 1867, has a place, as also many items mentioned in his "Adverse Catalogue." Books added subsequently are catalogued on the card system, and by means of the same process, information relating to the Society of Friends at all periods and in all places is being tabulated.

The great wealth of manuscript which has been accumulating for over two centuries is increasingly valued by students, and the local minute books which have been deposited are a mine of hitherto little explored information.

The Society of Friends is noted for the completeness of its registers of Births, Deaths and Marriages. A tabulated Digest of these was prepared before the original books were surrendered to Somerset House under the Registration Act of 1836. This Digest may be consulted for historical purposes. (No charge is made to members of the Society of Friends.)

An interesting collection of curios is also under the care of the Librarian.

The Library is open for purposes of enquiry and research from 10 a.m. to 5 p.m., Saturdays to 1 p.m. Although primarily a Reference Library, many books may be borrowed by Friends, when it is not convenient for them to read in the Library.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

OFFICE OF THE DEAN
OF THE FACULTY

CHICAGO, ILL.

DEAN OF THE FACULTY

CHICAGO, ILL.

CHICAGO, ILL.

CHICAGO, ILL.

The University of Chicago is a private, non-sectarian, co-educational institution of higher learning, founded in 1837, and chartered in 1838. It is one of the oldest and largest universities in the United States, and is distinguished by its high standards of scholarship and its broad range of academic offerings.

There is no restriction of race, color, or religion in the admission of students to the University. The University is a member of the Association of American Universities, and is affiliated with the National Academy of Sciences, the National Research Council, and the National Bureau of Standards.

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CHICAGO, ILL.

Report for the Year 1916

THE past year has not presented any specially prominent feature of interest, but the work carried on under the care of this Committee has been chiefly directed to the preservation and utilisation of its material.

1. Preservation.

The due care and preservation of the continually accumulating quantity of records of the past is constantly receiving attention.

The series of papers known as the Penn MSS., containing letters by William Penn, treaties with the Indians, etc., has been arranged and mounted by Charles T. Lamacraft, an expert of the British Museum. The same expert has provided a new and convenient case for the Charter of Release, 1672 ; he has repaired and made up the remaining portions of the impress of the Great Seal and provided a replica of the Seal.

Further sets of Meeting Minutes have been deposited at Devonshire House for safe custody and fuller use. In some cases valuable documents, belonging to Monthly Meetings, have been repaired under arrangement with the Meeting for Sufferings and thus made available for consultation in the Library.

The Committee has made frequent purchase of literature, new and old, written by Friends or relating to them or likely to throw light on their history. The most interesting of these additions have been recorded in the pages of "The Journal of the Friends Historical Society."

The Committee takes pleasure in acknowledging the valuable assistance given by the Friends' Book and Tract Committee of New York City, in searching for and sending over items of past publication.

The following are among the Presentations of the year :

Bryan I'Anson, "History of the I'Anson Family," 1915 ; Richard Abbatt, "History of the Picts Wall," 1849 ; E. S. Haldane, "Life of Descartes," 1905 ; the MS. "Journal of Mabel Wigham, 1762-1776" ; "Peace Episodes on the Niagara," 1914 ; Isaac Mason's Chinese translations ; M. C. Butler, "Quaker Strongholds," in Esperanto, 1916 ; Anniversary volumes of New Garden, and London Grove ; Sir George Newman's Medical Reports ; F. J.

Gilman, "Workers and Education," 1916; Dr. Henry Glisson, "True and Lamentable Relation of the most desperate death of James Parnel," 1656, MS. copy; Frederic Seebohm, "The Spirit of Christianity," 1916; Hymn Books used in Indian Mission; "Memoir of Mary Whitall," 1885; W. S. and K. Routledge, "With a Prehistoric People," 1910; Portraits of the married children of Samuel and Rachel Lloyd; J. Theodore Merz, "Religion and Science," 1915; "General Address of the Outinian Lecturer" (John Penn), 1820; "Record of the Jackson Family," 1878; Sir Edward Fry *et al.*, "A Century of Greek Epigrams," 1915; MS. "Journals of Richard Lindley," 1757-1785; volume of the poems of J. Russell Hayes, 1916; MS. list of Quakeriana in the Diaries of Oliver Heywood; and last, but not least, "The Family of Hanbury," 2 vols., folio, 1916.

The painting by J. Doyle Penrose, "The Presence in the Midst," presented to the Society by Lord Peckover of Wisbech, was for some time on exhibition in the Library. The picture also presented to the Society, of Brigflatts Meeting House, painted by J. Barlow Wood, hangs in the Library, as also a painting of Come-to-Good Meeting House, presented by the artist, L. Violet Hodgkin.

Periodical literature reaches the Library from North America, Australasia, India, China, Japan, South Africa. Current events in the Quaker world are chronicled in the Library Department with a view to their value as a basis for future history.

2. *Utilisation.*

Much labour has been expended in making the contents of the Library available for use.

As books come in, not only are their titles carded, but the contents undergo careful examination and the principal subjects are noted in the card catalogue. This last process is being applied to the older contents of the Library so far as time permits.

The card catalogue has received large additions during the year—not alone as an index to authors, but in references to persons, places and subjects. The catalogue contains roughly 108,000 entries, divided, according to colour, into references to printed books, MSS. and pictures belonging to the Library, to records "on deposit," and to notes of literature absent from the collection. The results of enquiry respecting individual Friends have also been added.

The thanks of the Committee are tendered to Allen C. Thomas, of Haverford, Pa., to Ella K. Barnard, of West Grove, Pa., and to other Friends, for valuable information collected and sent over.

The older literature in possession of the Society is recorded in a specially marked copy of Joseph Smith's printed catalogues relating to Friends, and in two ancient MS. catalogues.

The indexes to the thirteen volumes of "The Journal of the Friends Historical Society" and Supplements, with their 54,000 entries, form a separate key to unlock a large store of historical data. The above-named, with other indexes in print and MS., probably contain not far short of a quarter of a million entries.

Fewer personal visits have been paid during the year than in times more favourable to historical study, but numerous applications for help have been received by post. Many pages of literature have been read in MS. and proof, and suggestions offered thereon, and considerable help has been given with literary work not yet published.

The publications of the Historical Society serve to disseminate carefully prepared information and should be consulted by all students of Quaker history.

As another means of widening knowledge, opportunities are given from time to time for the inspection of the Society's possessions, safeguarded by this Committee. An Exhibition was open, as usual, one day of Yearly Meeting, and in the autumn a gathering of Friends and others, arranged by the Friends Historical Society, listened to addresses on the history of the Devonshire House premises and on work in the Library, and inspected various articles of interest.

The Meeting for Sufferings has added to the list of books for distribution, "Life of Joshua Rowntree," and Caroline E. Stephen's "Quaker Strongholds."

Grants of Part II. of "Christian Discipline," amounting to about two hundred and fifty copies, have been made for the use of "Conscientious Objectors" in prison in various parts of Great Britain.

An interesting event of the year was the appointment of our Librarian by the Senate of the University of London as a member of a Board of Examiners in History for the M.A. Examination for internal students, the candidate having chosen for the subject of her thesis—"Social Conditions in Ireland in the seventeenth and eighteenth Centuries, as illustrated by early Quaker Records."

In conclusion, the Committee invites the continued co-operation of Friends in its work. It is prepared to undertake the custody ("on deposit") of records belonging to Monthly Meetings likely to be of a general service, and gladly accepts gifts from authors of their literary productions for preservation and use.

ANNA L. LITTLEBOY,

Clerk of the Library Committee.

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⁷² Peter Bedford (1780-1864) of London and Croydon, "the Spital-fields Philanthropist," and friend of thieves.

⁷³ Edward Carroll (1784-1865) was a son of Isaac and Ann (Fisher) Carroll, of Cork. He removed to Uxbridge, near London, and there married Anna, daughter of Richard and Elizabeth Lowe, of Worcester, in 1816. Anna Carroll (1787-1850) was a Minister and her husband seems to have been in the same position. From the Testimony of Reading and Warborough M.M., issued in Third Month, 1851, we learn that her husband and she, after leaving Uxbridge, resided at Tottenham, Liverpool, Birmingham and Reading. "Anna Carroll visited most of the Meetings of Friends in Great Britain and Ireland, and frequently held meetings with persons not professing with Friends." Towards the close of 1850, her husband took her to Brighton, hoping that residence there might restore her health, but she died and was buried there in Twelfth Month, 1850.

His wife's death seems to have unstrung Edward Carroll's mind—there is a manuscript in D., which is a copy of a letter from him, commencing: "Osbaldwick dreadful prison n^r York @ Thos Allis's * place of awful solitary Confinement 8th month 1851," and referring to "cruel wicked Jas Backhouse in bringing me to & placing me in this dreadful abode of death." There is a strong appeal to be allowed to return to his native place, Cork, and in response to this he was sent to the care of his relatives, Abram and Jane Fisher, at Youghal, but his death took place at Bloomfield Retreat, near Dublin.

A photograph of E. Carroll is in the possession of Ernest H. Bennis, of Limerick, a collateral descendant.

⁷⁴ Thomas Newman's name occurs among Friends on the African Instruction Committee. Was he a country member and the same as Thomas Newman, of Worcester, who died there in 1852, aged seventy-four?

⁷⁵ Richard Cockin (1753-1845) lived at Doncaster and was a well-known Quaker. MSS. of his, giving accounts of various attendances at London Y.M., etc., are in D. For his wife, Ellen Abraham, see THE JOURNAL, xiii. 45.

⁷⁶ James Cropper (1773-1840), philanthropist, of Liverpool, interested in the abolition of slavery, founder of Penketh School.

⁷⁷ Jonathan Backhouse (1779-1842) was of Darlington, banker and railway promoter. In 1811, he married Hannah Chapman Gurney (1787-1850). J. and H. C. Backhouse travelled extensively in the ministry in Great Britain and North America.

⁷⁸ Joseph Tregelles Price (1784-1854) was a son of Peter and Anna Price of Cornwall. He was engaged in the iron manufacture at Neath in South Wales. He was the prime mover in the formation of the Peace Society; on the 4th of June, 1814, he convened a meeting at Plough Court, attended by William Allen, Frederick Smith, Basil Montague, and others, to consider the establishment of a Society for the promotion of permanent and universal peace, but owing to the unsettled state of international affairs, the Society was not launched until 14th June, 1816. In 1819, while on a visit to Paris he was able to induce the

* Thomas Allis, F.L.S. (1788-1875), was Superintendent of the Retreat, York, from 1823 to 1841, following George Jepson and being succeeded by John Candler. After his retirement he appears to have taken charge of private mental cases, at his house at Osbaldwick. He was a noted ornithologist, and one of the earliest members of the British Association. His only daughter, Elizabeth, married William Pumphrey (1817-1905), of York and Bath (*The Friend* (Lond.), 1905, p. 265).

formation of "La Société de la Morale Chrétienne," which had for its object the abolition of slavery and of capital punishment, etc.

See *Annual Monitor*, 1856.

⁷⁹ Samuel Tuke (1784-1857), the preacher and writer, of York, son and grandson of illustrious Quakers.

⁸⁰ This was probably William Davis who wrote on various ameliorative and philanthropic subjects, e.g., *Friendly Advice to industrious and frugal Persons, recommending Provident Institutions or Savings Banks* (4th ed., 1817). (At this time William Davis was one of the managers of the Provident Institution in Bath.) This is an interesting 16-page book. After referring to the value of small savings and the result in lives of persons of note, the subject is further dealt with under the following heads—rate of wages, setting out in life, early marriages, industry, frugality, education, clubs, adult schools, pride, dress, fashion, borrowing and pawning, ale houses, dram shops, gaming, etc. According to Joseph Smith (*Cata.* i. 516) Davis was of Minehead, then of Taunton and afterwards of Bath.

The *Annual Monitor* for 1840 records the death of a William Davis, of Taunton, in 1839, aged eighty.

⁸¹ Doubtless Joseph John Gurney (1788-1847). There is a record of his visit to Dorking, but no mention of the *contretemps*.

⁸² "Our dear young friend John Thompson took a heavy cold, which was succeeded by an inflammatory fever, that terminated in his removal, on the 6th of 7th month, fifteen days after their departure from the African coast" (*Circular from the Committee on African Instruction*, 1824). His age at death was twenty-three. The *Annual Monitor* for 1825 thus records his death: "It pleased an all-wise Providence to permit the termination of his disorder to close his continuance in mutability."

⁸³ Sir Charles McCarthy (1770?-1824) was Governor from 1812 to 1824. He was mortally wounded in a battle with the Ashantees (*D.N.B.*).

Books Wanted

THE Library Department at Devonshire House has been engaged for some time in supplying Friends' literature to public and private libraries and other institutions, and has made up sets of various periodicals for the British Museum, Universities' Libraries, National Libraries of Ireland and Wales and many town libraries. It now appeals for help from those who have such literature for which they would be glad to find positions of usefulness.

Here follows a second list of Wants (for previous list see xiv. 88):

GLOUCESTER PUBLIC LIBRARY:

Annual Monitor, early issues.

DEVONSHIRE HOUSE REFERENCE LIBRARY:

Autobiography of Frederick Douglass; *Johnny Darbyshire, a Country Quaker*, 1845, and Duganne's *Fighting Quakers*, 1866, both fiction.

CHARLES J. HOLDSWORTH, ALDERLEY EDGE, CHESHIRE:

London Y.M. folio Epistles, all prior to 1694 (except 1686), also 1697-1700, 1702, 1704, 1706.

Betsy Ross and the American Flag

IN vol. xiii. p. 159, appears an article under this heading, by our esteemed contributor, Ella K. Barnard. The following letter on this subject has been received from Dr. John W. Jordan, Librarian of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania :

DEAR MR. PENNEY.—I notice in the *Journal of the Friends Historical Society*, vol. 13, no. 4, page 159, a contribution by Ella K. Barnard, claiming that "Betsey Ross" made the first American Flag, the "stars and stripes," and that it was made after a pattern sketch agreed on and submitted to her by George Washington, Robert Morris and George Ross.

This is a new phase to defend their ancestor's claim, that has been raised by the descendants or friends of "Betsey Ross."¹

Mr. George Canby, a grandson of "Betsey Ross," at my suggestion, and armed with letters of influence to the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of War and the Secretary of State, visited Washington, where after stating his object in detail, he was given every facility to examine the letters and documents on file in these three Departments. After an exhaustive examination, from the date of the adoption of the American Flag by Congress, and for two years subsequent to that date, he neither found the name of "Betsey Ross" being paid for making flags, or in any other connection, nor were there any charges for the manufacture of American flags by anybody else.

We do know that "Betsey Ross" made flags for the *Pennsylvania Navy*, in 1777 and later, some of the Warrants for which are extant, but the descendants of the "little milliner" have never been able to produce any direct or positive evidence of what they claim for their ancestor. It is merely a family tradition, whereas the historically circumstantial evidence is strongly against this claim.

Mr. Fow's book should be in the hands of every one interested in the history of the American Flag.

The so-called "Betsey Ross House," which was purchased by an Association which agreed to give the promoter one-half of what he collected, from which he realised a large personal sum, has not been positively identified as the house in which "Betsey Ross" lived.

The cutting of five-pointed stars was made by women who antedated the epoch of "Betsey Ross" a century or more.

Yours very truly,

JOHN W. JORDAN.

¹ E. K. Barnard writes that "Betsy's family were in no way accountable for the appearance of the story at this time—indeed knew nothing of it." [Ed.]

"Life and Writings of Charles Leslie, M.A., Nonjuring Divine"

EDWARD Gregory, of Bristol, has drawn our attention to a Life of this arch opponent of Quakerism, published in 1885, and the Manager of Friends' Bookshop, has, by energetic search, secured a copy for the Reference Library. This volume of 544 pages was written by Rev. R. J. Leslie, M.A. (1829-1904), vicar of Holbeach S. John, Lincs., author also of *The Life and Times of the right reverend John Leslie, D.D., Bishop of the Isles, Scotland and of Raphoe and Clogher in Ireland*, etc., 1885.

Charles Leslie (1650-1722) was a son of John Leslie (1571-1671),¹ known as "the Fighting Bishop," and he evidently inherited much of his father's combativeness. He was born in Ireland, and educated at Trinity College, Dublin. He married Jane, daughter of Richard Griffith, the Dean of Ross (Ireland). In 1686, he became Chancellor of Connor. He was a pronounced Jacobite and refused to take the oaths at the Revolution; and being dispossessed of his office he quitted Ireland and settled in London. He was a strong controversialist, and attacked in turn Deists, Jews, Quakers and Socinians as well as communities within his own Church.

We are specially concerned with Leslie's controversy with Friends as related in Chapter vi. of his *Life*. R. J. Leslie informs his readers that Friends "formed a numerous and prominent sect at that time, compared with their present [1884] condition," and he actually believes that "one main reason among others of their gradual loss of influence and consideration, was the completeness and effectiveness of his [Charles Leslie's] confutation of their tenets and pretences. They never recovered from the blow he dealt"! Charles's *magnum opus* was called *The Snake in the Grass: or, Satan transformed into an Angel of Light, discovering the deep and unsuspected Subtilty which is couched under the pretended Simplicity of many of the principal Leaders of those People call'd Quakers*, and was first published in 1696, being followed by sequels and supplements under various titles. It is evident from the literature of the period that *The Snake* made a deep impression. In 1702, in response to an application from "Mr. Cranston of Riegate" for some books "written against the

¹ John Leslie was born 14 Oct., 1571, and he died 8 Sep., 1671, five weeks only short of 100 years. He deferred marriage until he was sixty-seven years old, when he married Katharine Conyngham, the fourth daughter of the Dean of Raphoe. Katharine was only eighteen at the time of her marriage, and was one of twenty-seven children, many of whom died early. There were at least eight children by the marriage, the birth of the Non-juring Charles being thus recorded by the Bishop: "In the year 1650, Thursday, July 17, at 7 o'clock in the morning, my sixth son was born, named in baptism Charles, whom may God preserve." (*John Leslie's Life and Times*, 1885.)

Quakers to putt into the Lending Library there," he received "The Snake in the Grass, and the Vindication of the same," with books by Francis Bugg and George Keith (*Minutes of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1608-1704, 1888, p. 220*).

John Tomkins writes to Sir John Rhodes in Second Month, 1698: "Touching the book caled the Sn : in the Grass, it is a heap of Rubbish wch has been gathering this 40 years; Several parts, yea, most parts, have been answered again and again. . . . I think the book has had more paines bestowed upon it than it deserves" (*Quaker Post-bag, 1910, pp. 135-138, 149*).

Thomas Story writes in his *Journal* that he encountered a priest in Maryland in 1699, who had a *Snake* with him. "He was not willing to show the Title, or the Author's Name, but I perceived it was the *Snake in the Grass*; and then I exposed it as a very false Piece and Charles Lesly, the Author, as a Forger" (p. 231), and later, in 1716, when on a visit to his brother, George Story, then Dean of Limerick, there was trouble between them caused by his brother and sister's "deep Prejudice against the Truth, being poisoned by the invidious and wicked Writings of Lesly, that implacable and venomous Rattle Snake" (p. 548).

The "paines bestowed upon the book," considered by John Tomkins more than the book deserved, were taken principally by George Whitehead (1636-1723) in *An Antiq̄ote against the Venome of the Snake in the Grass, 1697*, and Joseph Wyeth (1663-1731), in his *Switch for the Snake, 1699*, but other Friends—Richard Scoryer, John Raven, Daniel Phillips, Benjamin Lindley, Joseph Besse, John Lewes, and a Devonshire clergyman—Edmund Elys²—endeavoured also to scotch *The Snake*.

Other anti-quaker writings by Leslie were *A Discourse proving the Divine Institution of Water-Baptism, 1697*³; *Present State of Quakerism in England, 1701*, for which see *post*; *Primitive Heresie Revived, 1698*; and *An Essay concerning the Divine Right of Tythes, 1700*. His works were published in two folio volumes in 1721, and in seven octavo volumes in 1832.

Leslie had considerable acquaintance with Friends, and it is said that he, his wife and two children took lodgings "in the house of a member of this community facing the new Exchange . . . the happy result

² For Elys, see THE JOURNAL, vii., 7-10.

³ To show the nature of much of the matter in Leslie's diatribes, the following may be quoted from his *Water-Baptism* (a pamphlet of sixty-four pages):

"But have the *Quakers* no *Figures*? . . . G. Fox made a great *Mystery or Figure* of his *Marriage*, which, he said, *Was above the State of the first Adam, in his Innocency; in the State of the second Adam that never fell*. He wrote, in one of his *General Epistles* to the *Churches* (which were read, and valu'd by the *Quakers*, more than St. Paul's), That his *Marriage* was a *Figure* of the *Church coming out of the Wilderness* [see *Camb. Jnl. ii. 154* and note]. This, if deny'd, I can Vouch undeniably, but it will not be deny'd, tho' it be not Printed with the rest of his *Epistles*, but I have it from some that read it often. But why was it not Printed? That was a sad story. But take it thus. He Marry'd one *Margaret Fell*, a Widdow, of about *Threescore* Years of Age; and this

being the conversion not only of the landlord and his family, but also of several other persons," who had foregathered at the house of his Landlord to dispute with him. He was acquainted with William Penn, "a fellow Royalist." Our Author writes favourably of Penn, but cannot understand how he came "to embrace the delusions of this fanatical body."

Leslie's efforts to draw men to his way of thinking were said to be very successful. It is stated that he "brought more persons from other persuasions into the Church of England than any man ever did" (Loundes, *Bibliographical Manual*), and in Legg's *English Church Life from the Restoration*, 1914, we find the following (quoted from *A Letter concerning the validity of Lay Baptism*, 1738, by "Philaethes" [Hon. Archibald Campbell, 1691-1756]): "In that very year [1650] was born the Reverend Mr. Charles Lesley, whom God was pleased to make His instrument immediately and mediately of converting above 20,000 of them from Quakerism, Arianism and Socinianism" * (see THE JOURNAL, xii. 100).

One lapse from Episcopacy to Quakerism stirred the good man to the depths, as may be seen in the following account:

Samuel Crisp (c. 1670-1704), "while yet a school-boy, was inclined to religion and was zealously attached to the worship of the Episcopal Church" (MS. in D.). He was ordained a Deacon after leaving the University and placed in charge of two parishes in Norfolk (one being Foxley, where he resided). Then for a short time he was a private chaplain in London, where his duties were very uncongenial and wearisome. He writes: "I lived some time privately, in London, inquiring after the best things. There was then a great noise about the Quakers and George Keith (who was just then ordained deacon) was the talk of the town. So meeting one day with Robert Barclay's works in a bookseller's shop and understanding that he was a Quaker and an eminent writer amongst them, I had a great desire to read him." His conviction followed (*anno* 1700) though his new faith was somewhat shaken by contact with Charles Leslie and another clergyman. On the other hand, his attendance at Gracechurch Meeting and association with

Figure of the Church must not be *Barren*; therefore, tho' she was past Child-bearing, it was expected, that, as *Sarah*, she shou'd miraculously Conceive, and bring forth an *Isaac*; which *G. Fox* promis'd and boasted of, and some that I know have heard him do it, more than one. She was call'd, *The Lamb's Wife*. And it was said amongst the *Quakers*, That the *Lamb* had now taken his *Wife*, and she wou'd bring forth an *Holy Seed*. And Big she grew, and all things were provided for the *Lying in*; and he, being persuaded of it, gave notice to the Churches, as above observ'd. But, after long waiting, all prov'd *Abortive*, and the *Figure* was spoil'd. And now you may guess the Reason, why that *Epistle* which mention'd this *Figure*, was not *Printed*" (page 53; the same is repeated in Leslie's Works, ii. 707).

* A record of one such conversion is preserved in Leslie's *True and Authentic Account of the Conversion of a Quaker to Christianity and of her Behaviour on her Death-Bed*, printed 1757. The death-bed scene took place in March, 1700, but there is no indication of person by name. The scene was a strange one, very unlike the quiet passing of many a Quaker saint.

George Whitehead and others, finally decided him to unite himself with the Quakers, and quite shortly he became an usher in the school of Richard Scoryer in Wandsworth. He died of small-pox at Stepney, 1704, aged 34.

Charles Leslie, having failed in person, wrote letters to Crisp, on 24th Sept., and 30th Nov., 1700, to one of which Crisp wrote a reply from "Wansworth, 6th 9th Mo., 1700." These three letters were printed in Leslie's *Present State of Quakerism in England*, "wherein is shew'd that the greatest part of the Quakers in England are so far converted, as to be convinced. Upon Occasion of the relapse of Sam Crisp to Quakerism. Offer'd to the Consideration of the Present General Yearly Meeting of the Quakers in London, this Whitsun-Week, 1701." London, 1701, with Preface, in which he shows Crisp in as poor a light as possible—"not sound in his mind," etc. "This is the Man whom they set in the Scale, to Weigh against All those Quakers who have Lately been Converted," and then Leslie proceeds to an interesting classification of the Quakerism of the day, according to his view of it; concluding: "We may fairly compute 8 or 9 Parts in Ten of the Quakers in England are Converted."

Samuel Crisp's *apologia* for his change of religion is given in two letters written in or about 1702. These were printed as a pamphlet, and reprinted fifteen times during the next one hundred years.

Leslie paid several visits to the Royal exiles at St. Germain and was there some time after the sentence of outlawry passed upon him in 1710 in England, and was later a refugee in Italy. In 1721, he returned to Ireland, and "shattered in health, and exhausted in spirit, he breathed his last on April 13th, 1722" and was buried at Glaslough. Says his biographer: "His father led a stormy life; still more stormy was his."

Mr. Leslie's study of his ancestor's *Life and Writings* is very full. He is everywhere on the defensive and has unkind words to say of many persons. Of Friends he has a very poor opinion—"Adders' poison is under their lips still, but they do not bite so venomously and frequently in the nineteenth century as in the seventeenth. Nor with one exception have any parliamentary scorpions risen above the meanest level of mediocrity," and yet he adds: "Some other sects might advantageously take a lesson from their decorous and peaceable character." Apparently, he believes it true that there was a Quaker plot to murder Leslie—"A conspiracy was formed for the murder of Leslie. It was most deliberately organised by the Quaker leaders; and so eager and exultant were they in the prospect of its accomplishment, that nothing but a want of reticence on their own part, under the merciful care of Divine Providence, prevented its accomplishment."

⁵ I have searched the periodic literature of the year 1885, but have not found any reference to this book. I understand that when it appeared, the late Thos. Gregory, of Bristol, wrote to the author asking for his authority for this charge and that the reply was: "I beg to be excused entering into any controversy concerning my 'Life of Charles Leslie, Nonjuror,' further than to say for your own information, that I have only repeated publicly made statements and to which no denial was attempted during his life-time"!

Friends and Current Literature

Books of interest to Friends may be purchased at the Friends' Bookshop, 140, Bishopsgate, London, E.C.2.

The Friends' Book and Tract Committee, 144 East 20th Street, New York City, are importers of Friends' literature.

Many of the books in D. may be borrowed by Friends. Apply to Librarian, Devonshire House, Bishopsgate, London, E.C.2.

WE have received from William Lawrence Underwood, LL.B., of Patchogue, N.Y., a copy of his *Notes regarding a Branch of the Underwood Family*, 1917, with portrait of the Compiler (b. 1889). The immediate record opens with John Underwood (1647-1706), of Boston, Mass., probably born in England.

A History of Wigton School, 1815 to 1915, with Lists of Scholars and Teachers, pp. 185, price 4s. net. This is a very readable and interesting book, though its usefulness will be greatly lessened through want of an index. There are numerous illustrations. The first chapter records the history of the first forty-five years, the second and third deal with the headmastership (1860-1893) of Martin Lidbetter (1820-1905), the fourth records the present state of the School under Joseph J. Jopling, and chapter v. gives the history of the Old Scholars' Association.

* We may state for the benefit of those who are enquiring for Dr. Isaac Sharpless's books on Pennsylvania, that there are on sale *A Quaker Experiment in Government*, and *The Quakers in the Revolution*, bound in one volume, which was printed in Philadelphia in 1902, now to be had at Friends' Bookshop, 140, Bishopsgate, London, E.C.2., for 7s. 6d. net.

We notice that the apocryphal letter of "Sally Brindley" has been omitted from this reprint of "A Quaker Experiment."

The *Penketh School Magazine*, vols. ii. and iii. contains a valuable record of the Rise of Penketh Preparative Meeting, by J. Spence Hodgson. (Editor, Penketh School, Warrington, 1s. 6d. per annum.)

* *Fetters on the Feet*, the latest novel by Mrs. Fred Reynolds, intended to present a picture of Quaker life one hundred years ago. (London: Edward Arnold, 7½ by 5, pp. 336, 6s.)

We have received from Joseph Taylor a pamphlet on *Baptism, its Spiritual Valuation*, by J. N. C. Ganguly, B.A., of Calcutta, printed by G. B. Dass, at the Calcutta Fine Art Cottage, 64A, Dharamtolla Street, Calcutta, price 2 annas or 2d. The Author is an Indian member of

* = Not in D.

Hoshangabad M.M., and till lately Assistant Secretary of Y.M.C.A. at Calcutta. The book is purely original and not a translation on European lines. It closes with the following :

"N.B.—Any insistence and emphasis on ritualism will lead to the danger of opening analogical argument from thoughtful and spiritual Indians for preserving the remnants of all Ethnic religions from the view that Christianity is the fulfilment of Judaism still carrying on the Judaistic Stamp. Christianity will thus be wrongly considered a supplement only instead of the transformation of the old into the entirely new. This problem will have to be faced in future when the Indian National Church will come into being through gradual stages of growth, with the evangelisation of the whole country."

A Baptist Bibliography, being "a register of the chief materials for Baptist history, in Great Britain, Ireland, and the Colonies," has appeared, prepared by W. T. Whitley, M.A., LL.D., F.R.Hist.S., of Preston, hon. sec. of the Baptist Historical Society, vol. i., 1526-1776 (London : Kingsgate Press, 11 by 8½, pp. viii. + 240, price one guinea). We are informed by a reviewer in the "Trans. B.H.S." that "the volume contains roughly speaking, about 4,500 titles, representing 1,700 authors of whom 920 are Baptists ; besides about 370 anonymous pamphlets, state-papers, etc." The value of such an important publication reveals itself by degrees only, as it is consulted, but we have seen sufficient already to enable us highly to apprise its value.

* *Years of my Youth*, by William Dean Howells (New York and London : Harper and Brothers, 8½ by 5½, pp. 239), is written in delightful style. He records : "My great grandfather became 'a Friend by conviction,' as the Quakers called the Friends not born in the Society : but I do not know whether it was before or after his conviction that he sailed to Philadelphia with a stock of his Welsh flannels, which he sold to such advantage that a dramatic family tradition represents him wheeling the proceeds in a barrell of silver down the street to the vessel which brought him and which took him away."

But Quakerism does not appear to have taken deep root in the family.

Our Friend, Horace Mather Lippincott, of Philadelphia, has an article in the *New York Sun*, of 24th March, under the caption : "Where the Quakers stand in the Fight against Barbarism." He tells us that "the greatest Quakers that have ever lived have shown that they were willing and able to offer active resistance to great wrongs after their best efforts had been given to avoid such action," and he instances William Penn—"if lenitives will not do coercives must be tried"—James Logan, John Dickinson, Nathaniel Greene, Thomas Mifflin, Israel Whelen, and Jacob Brown, the last four having been soldiers in the U. S. army. Good men though they may have been, can any but the first, and perhaps the second, be classed "the greatest Quakers that ever lived" ? and were they all in membership when holding military positions ? and is it certain that John Dickinson was *ever* a Friend ?

Since this was written, the "Friends' Intelligencer" of 3mo. 31 has arrived, containing the above named article and a reply by Rufus M. Jones, describing the article as "unhistorical."

Allen C. Thomas writes: "All the Friends named were disowned because they entered military service."

Edward Grubb has an article in *The Expository Times*, for April, on "The Eschatology of the Fourth Gospel."

George Holden Braithwaite, of Horsforth, near Leeds, has sent out a pamphlet entitled *The Society of Friends and War. To fight in Defence of King and Country is NOT anti-Christian* (London: Robert Scott, pp. 44, 6d. net). Although a member of Rawdon Meeting, G. H. Braithwaite is a non-attender and his views on various subjects are not those usually held in the Society.

* Our Friend, Harlow Lindley, has edited a volume of 600 pages entitled *Indiana as seen by early Travellers*, down to 1830. It is published in the Indiana Historical Collections.

Quite the most attractive article in the *Bulletin of F.H.S. of Philadelphia* (vol. vii. no. 3, May, 1917) is the Editor's paper on "William Penn, Macaulay and 'Punch.'" There is a reproduction of the "Punch" cartoon by John Leech (1817-1864: contributed to "Punch" between 1841 and 1864, some three thousand drawings—D.N.B.), from the issue of 17 Feb. 1849:

"The Friends are represented as driving to the residence of Macaulay in a 'four-wheeler' cab. The faces of the men are smiling and confident, and a little dog runs joyously beside the vehicle. In the central division of the cut, Macaulay, with a determined countenance, is represented in his library, vanquishing his foes with a quill. The attitudes of the Friends, which are anything but dignified, indicate a complete rout. In the third division, the Friends are shown as driving off with despondent faces. Leech has six or seven Friends, but five was the right number—Samuel Gurney, Sr., Josiah Forster, George Stacey, John Hodgkin, and Joseph Bevan Braithwaite."

Other articles are "Samuel and Mary Bowne, of Flushing," and "Donations of English Friends, 1789-90."

Fritchley General Meeting of conservative Friends, held 3 v. 1917, has issued an Epistle to Friends in America and also a "Testimony to the peaceable Nature of Christ's Kingdom and against all outward Warfare involving the Destruction of Human Life" (Edward Watkins, Fritchley, Derbyshire).

In *The Christian*, dated June 14, 1917, there is a short biography of Isaac Sharp, as no. 9 of "Laymen who lead," with a reproduction of T. Binney Gibbs's painting. It is well written from a non-Quaker point of view. Isaac Sharp has resigned his position as Recording Clerk after twenty-seven years' service. See *THE JOURNAL*, vol. i.

Elsie Bastin, wife of E. Philp Bastin, of Ettington, has brought out an attractive little book, entitled *The Story of a Brave Woman and other Stories from Norway*. The book contains incidents connected with the work of J. J. Armistead and his mission-boat the *Red Cross*. As Elsie Warner, the author was present at some scenes she describes. (Friends' Bookshop, 140, Bishopsgate, E.C.2. 1s. net.)

* There is a short but appreciative reference to Friends in *Woman and the Church*, by Canon Streeter, and Edith Picton-Turbervill (London : Unwin, 7½ by 5, pp. xii. + 112, 3s. 6d. net).

J. St. G. Heath and Herbert G. Wood are two of the five writers who have prepared for "the Collegium" (92, St. George's Square, S.W.1 ; Lucy Gardner, secretary), *Competition : a Study in Human Motive* (London : Macmillan, 7½ by 5, pp. xx. + 232, 3s. 6d. net).

The new volume of *New Jersey Archives* (second series, vol. v., newspaper extracts, vol. v., Oct. 1780 to July 1782, Trenton, N.J., 1917), edited by Austin Scott, in succession to William Nelson (d. 1914), throws a flood of light upon the Revolutionary history of the State. Among the principal contents are advertisements of sales of slaves or for capture of run-aways :

"To be sold, two negro women, one an old one, the other about twenty-eight or thirty years of age, can do all manner of house-work. They are sold for no fault, but for want of a strict master. Enquire of the Printer," anno 1780.

"Two Thousand Dollars Reward, RAN AWAY, on Sunday last, . . . a NEGRO MAN named JOE, about 30 years of age, five feet eight inches high, one leg a little shorter than the other, part of one of his great toes cut off, lost some foreteeth, and his back is much scarrified and in lumps by whipping.—Also a handsome NEGRO WENCH, 18 [?] years of age, with her Child about six weeks old, which from some of its clothes being found, she is supposed to have killed. The Negroes went off with one *Slight*, a soldier . . . and took with them a variety of clothes and two horses . . . —*N. J. Gazette*, Dec. 27, 1780."

Isaac Collins, of Burlington, N.J., printed the "New Jersey Gazette." He brought out an edition of William Sewel's *History of Friends*.

Isaac Mason, of the Christian Literature Society, of Shanghai, has forwarded several translations into Chinese of English books. One is the "Teachers and Taught" Text Book, *The Heroic Jesus*, by Florence B. Reynolds and Herbert I. Waller. I. Mason has himself written on *The Relationship of State and Church*, 1917.

St. Paul the Hero, by Rufus M. Jones (New York : Macmillan, 7½ by 5½, \$1.00), "written primarily for young folks in semi-fiction form."

"*Handed Over*"; the Prison Experiences of J. Scott Duckers . . . written by himself, with foreword by T. Edmund Harvey, M.P. (London : Daniel, 7½ by 5, pp. viii. + 151, 1s. 6d. net).

The Annual Monitor for 1917 is now out. There are thirty-three memoirs and twenty-two portraits.

Largely through the efforts of our newly admitted Friend, Henry van Etten, of Paris, there has appeared, printed by John Bellows, of Gloucester, a translation into Esperanto of "La Société Chrétienne des Amis, autrement appelés 'Quakers,'" a pamphlet written by Justine Dalencourt of Paris and printed in 1875, the title being *La Kristana Societo de Amikoj ankaŭ nomataj "Quakers."* Our linguistic attainments have not yet reached to Esperanto, but we hope that there has been some modernisation of the French pamphlet of so long ago, prior to translation.

The last issue of *The Journal of Negro History* (Washington, D. C., April, 1917, \$1.00 a year) contains an article "John Woolman's Efforts in behalf of Freedom," also "The Conditions against which Woolman and Benezet inveighed." And "Impressions of Priscilla Wakefield," taken from her "Excursions in North America," 1806.

Still they come—we have had the "Fruits of Silence," by Cyril Hepher, the "Fellowship of Silence," by Dr. Thomas Hodgkin and others, "The Surrender of Silence," by L. Violet Hodgkin, and now *The Empire of Silence*, by Rev. Charles Courtenay, chaplain of Holy Trinity, Rome (London: S. Low, 7½ by 5, pp. xii. + 419, with twenty-six columns of Index, 6s. net.).

This is a wonderful collection of illustrations of silence from many aspects, under twenty-five sections, e.g., the Power of Silence, Spheres of Silence, Heroic Silence, the Great Model of Silence, Shakespeare and Silence, the Silence of War, the Humours of Silence. In the chapter of Mystic Silence we read: "The study of the Mystics, is, for the most part, the study of the individual. . . . But there is one exception, that of the Friends. Here is a whole Christian section, whose distinguishing mark is silence. In them silence is reduced to a system. But when their hearts have become saturated with Divine life, and they are steadily moved by Him, then they break silence, and say what is given them. They speak only when it is safe to speak. And when they have said God's say, then they rigidly stop." [Would that this were true of all Quaker preaching !]

The Literary Supplement to *The Times*, 7th June, has 1½ column headed "The Quaker Testimony," giving reviews of "What is Quakerism?" by Edward Grubb, William Littleboy's Swarthmore Lecture, and J. W. Graham's "William Penn."

* There are several references to William Penn and his work for peace in *The War against War and the Enforcement of Peace*, essays by Professor Christen Christian Collin (b. 1857), of the University of Christiania (London: Macmillan, 7½ by 5, pp. xii. + 163, 2s. net).

Our Friend, William Hanbury Aggs, M.A., LL.M., of the Inner Temple, Barrister-at-Law, has issued the sixth Annual Continuation Volume of the sixth edition of *Chitty's Statutes* (London: Sweet and Maxwell, 3, Chancery Lane, 10 by 6½, pp. xxii. + 1043-1603). The volume contains "Statutes of practical utility passed in 1916, with incorporated enactments and selected statutory rules." The Compiler writes: "The legislation passed during the year which has had the most wide-reaching effect on the whole community has been the Military Service Acts. These Acts, by automatically enrolling in the army every man within certain limits of age, have effectively introduced the system of conscription for this country." Presented by the Compiler.

Finch and Baines, a Seventeenth Century Friendship, by Archibald Malloch (Cambridge University Press, 12 by 9, pp. x. + 90, 10s. 6d. net), with various data concerning Lady Conway. We hope shortly to supply our readers with gleanings from this book.

Another section of *The Athenæum Subject Index to Periodicals*, 1916, is out—"Theology and Philosophy." (London: Bream's Buildings, E.C.4, 12 by 9½, pp. 48, half a crown net.)

Recent Accessions to D

IN addition to the unstarred literature introduced under the heading "Friends and Current Literature," the following items have been added to **D** during the last few months:

The Origin of the Prologue to St. John's Gospel, by J. Rendel Harris, Cambridge, 1917.

Life and Writings of Rev. Wm. Grimshaw, Minister of Haworth [1708-1763], by William Myles, Newcastle-on-Tyne, 1806.

America's View of the Sequel, by Royal J. Davis¹ (London: Headley Brothers, 7½ by 5, pp. 155, 2s. 6d. net).

Life and Writings of Charles Leslie, M.A., Nonjuring Divine, by Rev. R. J. Leslie, M.A., London, 1885.

The Christian Soldiers Penny Bible, 1693, reproduced in facsimile with Introduction by Francis Fry, F.S.A. London, 1862. This consists of twenty sections beginning "The Christian Soldier should—" the tenth being "The Christian Soldier should love his Enemies; yet hate and destroy them as Enemies to God and his Country"!

¹ Royal Jenkins Davis (b. 1878) is an active Friend in New York Y.M. He is an Earlham and Haverford graduate and A.B. of Harvard. He is on the Editorial Board of the *New York Evening Post*.

Histoire des Anabaptistes, ou Relation curieuse de leur Doctrine, Regne & Revolutions . . . Mennonites, Kouakres & autres. A Paris, chez Charles Clouzier. MDCXV [*sic* : should perhaps be MDCXC]. For an abstract from this rare little vellum-bound volume, the work of François Catrou (1659-1737), see THE JOURNAL, v. 195.

John Clutton, of Rotherslade, Heene Road, Worthing, has presented to D two cabinet photographs representing David Stanfield (c. 1793-1868) and his wife, Elizabeth (c. 1795-1881), of Fairmount, Grant County, Ind. The donor writes that David was "a Minister and one of a number of Friends who migrated from the Southern States out of principle and on account of their opposition to Slavery. D. S. was among the very early settlers in that part of Indiana when it was almost virgin forest. . . . I think he settled there about the year 1830. I knew him well in the years 1850 to 1852. His wife was a Mother in Israel. They had a large family. D. S. was about fifty-five when I was there [1850-1852] and his wife a few years younger." Information from local sources, kindly sent at our request, makes it appear that this couple was very prominent in the early days of Fairmount, and that David "was known as the Father of Fairmount. . . . He laid out the original plat, which was a part of his farm. He was one of the founders of the Fairmount Friends' Church."

Discourse on Women, delivered at the Assembly Rooms, December 17th, 1849, by Lucretia Mott, Phila., 1869, with inscription, "Mary Wells—with best regards of Lucretia Mott."

A file of *The Friends Minister*, vols. 1 to 4, has been received. It is published at Westfield, Ind., by William M. Smith, and "devoted to a Bible-educated Ministry and a Bible-practising Church." Vol. 5 commenced in December, 1916.

The Wrestlers—Father, Mother, Son, by Theodora Wilson Wilson, London, 1916, a story of England, Germany and Russia.

Calligraphia Graeca et Poecilographia Graeca, written by John Hodgkin and engraved by H. Ashby. London, 1794, presented by J. H.'s great-grand-daughter, L. Violet Hodgkin. This beautiful specimen of calligraphy contains a letter to Dr. Thomas Young (1773-1829), the Assyriologist. John Hodgkin (1766-1845) was a writing master of Pentonville and Tottenham. There are the names of many Friends in the list of patrons at the end of the book.

Dr. George Smith's *History of Delaware County, Pennsylvania*, pp. 581. Philadelphia, 1862.²

² Dr. George Smith (1804-1882), of Upper Darby, Delaware Co., Pa. Graduate of Medical University School of Pa., 1826. Retired from practice, 1831. State Senator, 1832-1836; Assoc. Judge Court of Common Pleas, Delaware Co., 1836-1857, and 1861-1866. Superintendent of Public Schools, Del. Co. for twenty-five years. Scientist especially in Geology. President of Del. Co. Institute of Science, 1833-1882; Member of Hist. Soc. of Pa. Author, as above, and of many scientific papers, etc. Friend (Hicksite). Three of his four sons were students at Hav. Coll. [Information from Allen C. Thomas, A.M., Haverford, Pa.]

Lessons on the Kingdom of Judah, by Caroline C. Graveson, B.A., Vice-Principal of the Training Department of Goldsmiths' College, London University, 1914, and *The Acts of the Apostles*, by Charles E. Stansfield, M.A., 1916, both writers being Friends (*Teachers and Taught Text Books*).

Charles Leslie's *Essay on Tithes*, 1700, reprinted by Grant, Edinburgh, 1845.

The Lamb of God, or the Scriptural Philosophy of the Atonement, by William P. Pinkham, A.M., Los Angeles, Calif., 1916, third edition. Presented by the Author.

Bowles's *New London Guide*, n.d. (circa 1780), presented by Isaac Sharp.

Bundle of Y.M. and other papers, presented by E. Ernest Boorne.

Lives of Lord Herbert of Cherbury and Thomas Ellwood, with Essays by William Dean Howells, Boston, 1817, in the series—Autobiography, published by Osgood and Company.

The Howells edition of *Thomas Ellwood* was briefly noted in "American Notes" in our last issue. The American agents of Friends' Reference Library have obtained a copy of this and it has had a fortunate voyage across the Atlantic.

W. D. Howells, in his essay on Edward, Lord Herbert (1583-1648), writes:

"I have flattered myself that in grouping him with the sturdy Quaker Ellwood, I have furnished the reader an easy means for a comparison which will not be unfair to either of them. They are both characters of the most distinct type, of a like heroic mould in many things, and of a similar devoutness, however diverse in their theories of religion and of life; it were hard to say which is the worse poet. Herbert represents the last phase of chivalry, the essence of which lingered in his heart and influenced his conduct, while his daring intellect questioned the highest things and infinitely removed him from medievalism. . . . Ellwood was of the new dispensation which shunned the world, which bade men fashion themselves on Christ's example, and abhorred arms and vanities. His sect goes forward to an early extinction [1877; not yet extinct!], but its animating spirit can never die out of the world; it must prevail and rule at last. The courtier is picturesque and romantic, in a degree which takes the artistic sense with keen delight; the Quaker is good and beautiful, with a simple righteousness that comforts and strengthens the soul."

Of Ellwood (1639-1713) we read, in a paragraph which will surprise those who have reckoned it to Ellwood's credit to have suggested "Paradise Regained":

"The author has the doubtful glory of having suggested one of the most unread epics in the English language. . . . Those who bear honest Ellwood a grudge for the disservice he did literature and a great poet. . . ."

Another surprise awaits the reader of the following :

" The writings of his sect are apt to have a certain unintentional delight for the world's people : Charles Lamb held John Woolman's Journal to be one of the most humorous books in our tongue [where does Lamb say this ?] and Sewall's [Sewel's] ' History of the People called Quakers,' is far from being the serious work it appears . . . ; nor is the ' Life of Thomas Ellwood ' an exception to the general rule " |

Memoirs of William Wilson, the Founder of the Barnsley Linen Trade, by John Burland, London, 1860. Presented by William E. Brady, of Barnsley. William Wilson (c. 1711-1793) was "one of those plain-dealing, plain-speaking, plain-looking people, commonly called Quakers. Like many of his confraternity, he was quaint in manner, curt in speech and shrewd in business . . . in his domestic habits he was thoroughly recluse." His remains were buried in the Monk Bretton Friends' Burial Ground.

Some Memorandums of . . . John Bowen, with others MSS. and books, presented by the Gravely family of Wellingborough. Portions of this Bowen MS. appeared in the "Annual Monitor" for 1830. Here and there are biographical touches—death of his cousin, Mary Maw, in 1823 ; attendance at Y.M., 1827 noted ; marriage of his sister, Mary, with Joseph Burt, of Fulbeck, in 1828, at which ministered Jonathan and Hannah C. Backhouse ; the death of his sister Abigail (1804-1821). Meanwhile disease was gradually sapping his vital powers, and in 1829 he died aged twenty-eight. He was a son of Simon Maw Bowen (1772-1852), grocer, of Gainsborough, and Ann (Hopkins) his wife (1771-1835). See P. 97.

Sundry cuttings from *The Illustrated London News*, including a picture of George Stephenson teaching two daughters of Edward Pease to embroider, 1823, presented by J. Henry Quinn.

Morgan Bunting, of Darby, Pa., has very kindly presented two elaborate genealogical charts, prepared by himself in 1895. One is of the Bunting family—Samuel Bunting (1692-1758), the immigrant, was born in Derbyshire, and settled at Darby, Pa., in 1722. The other is of the descendants of John Bartram (1699-1777), botanist. His son, James (1730-1824), married Sarah Bunting (1732-1767), daughter of above Samuel.

By the kindness of the author, Thomas Mott Osborne, L.H.D., of Auburn, N.Y., a copy of his book, *Society and Prisons. Some Suggestions for a new Penology*, has been placed in D. In the inscription written by the donor in the work, he states : " As my grandfather and grandmother on my mother's side were Friends, I claim to be at least half a one." The book is composed of lectures given at Yale University, New Haven, Ct., in 1916, in connection with that University's Lectures on the Responsibilities of Citizenship. The chapters are five—Crime and Criminals, Courts and Punishment, The Old Prison Systems, The Mutual Welfare League, The New Penology. (New Haven : Yale University Press ; London : Oxford University Press, 8½ by 5½, pp. 246, \$1.35 net.)

Notes and Queries

KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

- D.—Friends' Reference Library, Devonshire House, 136, Bishopsgate, London, E.C.2.
Camb. Jnl.—*The Journal of George Fox*, published by the Cambridge University Press, 1911.
D.N.B.—*The Dictionary of National Biography*.
F.Q.E.—*Friends' Quarterly Examiner*.
M.M.—Monthly Meeting.
Q.M.—Quarterly Meeting.
Y.M.—Yearly Meeting.

QUAKERISM AND PUGILISM.—In vol. x. p. 103, there is a curious reprint from the *Bath Chronicle*, respecting a supposed visit of Elizabeth Fry to Bill Neat, the pugilist, and also a report of a real visit to Neat, paid by another Quaker lady. Still another visit to the same man was paid, by Sarah Hoare, of Bath (c. 1767-1855). In her diary she wrote :

"9 mo. 2d. 1822. I was enabled to address Neat, the pugilist, I fear unavailingly, at least for the present; but as I believe it was done in *holy fear*, it may be as bread cast upon the waters that may return, &c."

"11 mo. 14th, 1822. The horrid prize fight I so much dreaded, is given up. I bow in reverent thankfulness."

See *Annual Monitor*, 1856, p. 91.

THE FIRST ACKWORTH SCHOLARS.—Barton and Ann Gates, from far-away Poole in Dorsetshire, were the first scholars to enter Ackworth—18th of Tenth Month, 1779. Their sister, Deborah, arrived in 1782. Anne left in 1782, Barton in 1784, and

Deborah in 1787. After Ackworth they appear to have gone to Doncaster; by the end of 1788 they had scattered in different directions. The following Minutes of Poole and Southampton M.M. will be read with interest, as little is known of their parentage or history, "such information as exists respecting the boy does not tempt us to linger over it. For those who are interested in this first Ackworth school-boy there yet exist in the muniment room his broken indentures." (*History of Ackworth School*, 1879, p. 36):

"At a Monthly Meeting held at Poole, 14th 1. 1789:

"A letter from Rich^d Cockin, a member of Doncaster Preparative Meeting have been now read w^{ch} informs that Barton, Ann & Deborah Gates, children of Sam^l Gates are removed from that part of the country to the following places (to wit) Barton to Erith in Huntingdonshire, Ann to Margate in Kent and Deborah to Staines—this information being given in order that this meeting should recommend the said children to the respective monthly

meetings within the compass of which they severally reside, but this meeting being of opinion they are not members of our Society desires Moses Neave to prepare an answer to the said Letter and bring to our next Meeting."

"To Rich^d Cockin (copy) :

"I rec^d thine 12th mo. 11th, respecting the three Children of Sam^l Gates who lately left Ackworth, & laid the contents before our Mo. Meeting & am desired to inform thee that the Fr^{ds} of this Meeting do not look on those Children as having a birth right in the Society, their father having many years since left this place and enterd into the Army, when he married a Woman not a member of our Society, who is the mother of these Children, & afterwards returned and settled here, therefore when they were sent to Ackworth this Mo. Meeting refused to give any Certificate w^{ch} the Committee or some members of it were acquainted with the reasons of our refusal. Nevertheless as the father was a Member of this M^g & the children have had an education in the Society, when the Monthly Meetings in the Compass of which they are settled, judge them of a proper age to be admitted Members & their Lives & Conversations appear satisfactory to them, on receiving their Report this Meeting will have no objection then to admit them members of Society and to recommend them to the respective Mo. Meetings within the Compass of which they reside which they apprehend is the proper way to

proceed agreeable to the Rules of the Society, of which please to inform the Mo. Meeting in the Compass of which they reside.

"I am thy assured Friend,

"MOSES NEAVE."

Others of the same surname went later to Ackworth from Middlesex and Suffolk, including another Barton (1801-1805), of Staines. Were they of the same family?

FRIENDS ASSIST NEEDY
ANGLICANS.—In the *St. James's Chronicle and General Evening Post*, 1826, there is a notice of the death of the Vicar of Sandringham, and a long list of subscribers to a fund for his widow and ten children, in which are many Quaker names, for large amounts—Gurneys, Birkbecks, Hoares, Cresswells, Barclays, Peckovers, Trittons, etc.

JOSEPH LIDDLE, OF PRESTON.—
"30th Oct., 1826. Died (lately) at Corby, near Carlisle, aged 102, Joseph Liddle, one of the Society of Friends. He retained his faculties to the last, and managed till within a few years of his death an extensive garden. He was a shoemaker by trade and was working in that capacity at a shop in the Market Place, Preston, when the rebels entered that town in 1745; he lived at the King's Head Public House, still known by the same sign."

St. James's Chronicle and General Evening Post, 1826.

[The Burial Registers for Cumberland and Northumberland give: "1826 ix. 3, aged 98, Joseph Liddle, late of Brandreth, shoemaker, N(on) M(ember)."]

LINDLEY MURRAY.—In the *St. James's Chronicle and General Evening Post*, 23 Feb., 1826, there is an account of the death of Lindley Murray and an obituary notice.

ATTENDANCES AT YEARLY MEETING.—William Tuke (1732-1822) made fifty consecutive attendances at London Y.M. Has any Friend a longer record?

GEORGE LOGAN (1753-1821).—Dr. George Logan was the son of Dr. William Logan, eldest born of James Logan, the distinguished Secretary to William Penn, and was born at the family seat, "Stenton," near the now Wayne Junction Station, Philadelphia. He was a distinguished physician, agriculturist, man of letters and United States Senator from Pennsylvania (1801-1807).

He resided at the family seat until his death in 1821, and with his accomplished wife, Deborah Norris Logan, entertained all the prominent men of the day. In 1798 the settlement of America's relations with France engaged the earnest attention of the Government. Negotiations were undertaken in order to settle the question of neutral rights and to protect our commerce from the depredations of France by whose acts we had been drawn perilously near war. The three American Commissioners were refused a reception by the Foreign Ministry of France and, after their efforts had failed, took their departure. Dr. Logan determined to go to France to aid in averting a war which seemed to him imminent. He felt that perhaps the argu-

ments of a private gentlemen might avail where members of the Government had failed of recognition. He was brought into intimate relations with members of the French Executive Directory—Merlin the Chief, Le Peaux, Tallyrand and the rest. The way was thus opened for peace, the French embargo was lifted and hundreds of American sailors released from French prisons.

On his death, Du Ponceau said of him: "And art thou too gone! friend of man! friend of peace! friend of science! Thou whose persuasive accent could still the angry passions of rulers of men, and dispose their minds to listen to the voice of reason and justice."

From *A Portraiture of the People called Quakers*. By Horace Mather Lippincott, 1915, page 30, where is a portrait of Dr. Logan.

REPORTS OF LONDON Y.M.—Accounts from private sources of the proceedings of the Y.M. in various years are accumulating in D., and are valuable records. Friends and others having such which they incline to deposit in D., are invited to communicate with the Librarian, Devonshire House, Bishopsgate, E.C.2.

THOMAS GARRETT, 1789-1871 (xiv. 55).—Thomas Garrett, of Wilmington, Delaware, was an earnest believer in the universality of the Divine Immanence and was a prominent Abolitionist. Upon one occasion he was convicted of aiding in the escape of slaves. The judge, who knew him well, offered to suspend sentence if

he would promise not to do it again. Looking straight at him, Thomas Garrett replied, "Thou hadst better proceed with thy business." Wendell Phillips tells of his being sold out to pay the fine for this offence, and when the sheriff at the close remarked that he hoped he'd never be caught at it again, Thomas Garrett replied, "Friend, I haven't a dollar in the world, but if thee knows a fugitive who needs a breakfast send him to me."

From *A Portraiture of the People called Quakers*, by Horace Mather Lippincott, 1915, page 100, with portrait of Thomas Garrett.

JAMES DICKINSON (1658-1741).—It was supposed more people were convinced through James Dickinson's ministry than by any other person whatever excepting George Fox.

HUTCHINSON, *Hist. of Cumberland*, ii. 135.

LYDIA DARRAGH AND GENERAL WASHINGTON.—The story of how Lydia Darragh informed George Washington of the proposals of the British army in the Revolutionary War, and saved the American army, has often been told.

Horace M. Lippincott has it thus, in his recent book, *A Portraiture of the People called Quakers*, 1915:

"Lydia Darragh [c. 1729-1789] was the daughter of John Barrington and married William Darragh, 11th month 22nd, 1753, at Friends' Meeting in Sycamore Alley, Dublin, Ireland. They sailed for America at once and settled in Philadelphia, residing in Second Street below Spruce,

numbered 117 at the corner of Dock Street and known as the Loxley House.

"Their house was selected as a place of meeting for British officers by Lydia's cousin, Captain William Barrington of the Royal Fusiliers, a part of Sir William Howe's army of occupation during the winter of 1777-78. The Adjutant General asked for a private room for conference, and on December 2nd, he required that it be ready with fire and candles by seven o'clock and that her family retire to their beds and keep silence regarding the visit. These minute directions excited her curiosity and without shoes she crept to the door and listening at the keyhole heard an order read for all the British troops to march out on the evening of the 4th, and attack Washington's army at Whitemarsh.

"Returning to her room she feigned sleep when called by the officer at the close of the meeting. At an early hour of the morning she informed the family that she was going to Frankford to procure flour. Leaving her bag at the mill, she hastened to the American encampment, walking in a snowy road for many miles. She met Lieutenant Colonel Craig, whom she knew, and gave him the information which placed the American army on its guard and prevented disaster at Edge Hill. After the return of the British troops the Adjutant General closely questioned her as to how the news leaked out and warned Washington to be prepared at every point to meet them so that they were 'compelled to march back like a parcel of fools.' She died in 1789 and was buried in

Friends' Burial Ground at Fourth and Arch Streets, Philadelphia."

The story first appeared in the *American Quarterly*, Jan., 1827, vol. i. p. 32, fifty years after the time and thirty-eight years after the death of Lydia Darragh. The *Pa. Magazine of Hist. and Biog.*, vol. xxiii. pp. 86ff, gives the history of the family of Darragh.

A. C. Myers refers to the story in his *Immigration of the Irish Quakers into Pennsylvania*, 1902, and states that Lydia was "disowned from the Society for neglecting to attend meetings." Isaac Sharpless also gives it in his *Quakers in the Revolution*, 1899, and mentions Lydia Darragh and Elizabeth Griscom (*aft.* Ross and Claypoole—the "Betsy Ross" of history) as two women among the "Free Quakers."

But in Scharf and Westcott's *History of Philadelphia*, 1884, vol. i. p. 368, we read:

"The movement, in fact, was known in Washington's camp on Nov. 29th, as a letter of General Armstrong proves, and this destroys the creditableness of the romantic story of Lydia Darragh. . . . The entire story is unworthy of credence."

Other writers agree with this view—A. C. Thomas in his *Hist. of Pa.*, 1913, prefaces the account with the words, "It is said," and this author (Professor Emeritus of History at Haverford College, Pa.), states, in a personal letter, 1917, "I place no credence in the story of Lydia Darragh and very little in that of Betsy Ross."

WAS IT MARGARET FELL?—
We are asked to comment on the following quotation:

"1660. 26 Aug. Sunday.

"As I was preaching in the forenoon a poor woman came into the Church in sackcloth and ashes, and stood with her hair about her ears before the pulpit at the sermon time. They said it was Judge Fell's wife."—*Autobiography of Henry Newcome 1627-1695*), Chetham Society, p. 126.

As Canon Bardsley in his *Town and Church of Ulverston*, 1885, p. 71, quotes the above, it may be supposed that he connected the incident with Ulverston church. But this inference is not corroborated by Mr. C. W. Sutton of the Manchester Public Library, who has kindly looked up the reference in the Chetham Society's publications. He writes:

"I think it is clear that the incident of Aug. 26 (Sunday), 1660, quoted from Henry Newcome, did not take place at Ulverston. In July he had been at Cambridge, returning by Derby, Staffordshire and Cheshire. On July 20th he was at Knutsford and apparently came home to Manchester. There are entries on August 18th and 24th, when he was in a state of anxiety concerning his expected election to a fellowship in Manchester Collegiate Church. I take it that his sermon on August 26th was preached in that Church."

From MSS. available in the Reference Library it would appear that Margaret Fell was neither at Ulverston nor Manchester on the said Sunday, but in London. She went to London on business connected with George Fox's release, in the summer of 1660, after 8th of May and before 22nd of

July (Spence MSS., 68, 69). Writing to her children from London on the 1st of August, she gives no hope or prospect of immediate return north, and on the very Sunday in question, Bridget writes to her mother c/o Gerard Roberts, in London (Spence MSS., 74).

In Margaret Fox's *Works* (1710), p. 5, she says that she was able to return to Swarthmoor from London "to visit my children and family which I had been from fifteen months," which looks as if she was in London from May, 1660, to August, 1661.

THEN AS NOW.—Copy of a Letter to Dr. Fothergill.

May the 27th 1765.

Dear Sir.

As you may have influence in establishing things decent and orderly in your society, I take the liberty of troubling you with this address. I have often attended your silent meetings and come away greatly edified both from what I have felt myself, and from the great satisfaction I took in sitting with so many christian Philosophers, for so I must

esteem them, who can sit two hours to improve only by the operation of divine grace within. And yet the point I am concerned about is the great want of silence to[o] frequent after large meetings. After a few words uttered by an excellent woman yesterday afternoon at devonshire house, I was astonished, I was shocked, to hear the universal babbling after the meeting broke up. I endeavoured to account for it by many town friends meeting their country friends after years absence, but this could not convince me that the clamour was consistant with the decorum I expected from so still and quiet a people. If it be said the house is only a house, and that after meeting is over, it is as decent to talk in the meeting house as in the street or by the way, to this I have no answer that can be suitable, but to such as esteem it but a proper degree, and if custom have made it inoffensive I shall another time only avoid the hearing of it and at all Times pray for the prosperity of Mr. Fothergill and his Friends.

From a MS. in D.

Elizabeth Fry, in the prisons of England, re-wrought the miracles of Jesus.

CHARLES RICHMOND HENDERSON, quoted in *Centennial of White-water M.M.* (Ind.), 1909, p. 121.

A man dropped into the meeting in St. Sepulchre Street, Scarborough, and after sitting in silence for half-an-hour, arose with the words : " Nowt said, nowt done, not a word about the Holy Ghost ! I'll be off ! " and so departed.—*Life of Joshua Rowntree*, 1916, p. 90.

He who gathers the flowers of pleasure in the field of duty, may gather them all the day long.—Favourite saying of Mary Whitall (1803-1880).

Sent to press 27th July, 1917.

FRIENDS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Income and Expenditure Account for Year ending 31st of Twelfth Month, 1916

INCOME.		£	s.	d.	EXPENDITURE.		£	s.	d.
Balance in hand, 1 i., 1916	..	60	0	4	Cost of printing Journal, Vol. xiii.	78	7	6	
Annual Subscriptions	..	80	7	0	Postage of the same	..	..	10	11 2
Sundry Sales	..	6	10	2					
		<hr/>			Reprint of " Friends in Public Life "			88	18 8
Donations towards deficit on				86	17	2		4	8 11
Account Book and Supplement					Stationery	..	..	..	3 4 0
Account	..	51	5	2	Sundries, Insurances, etc.	..	..	3	3 3
Additional contributions towards					Dispatch to U.S.A. under Censor				
Supplement 13 "A. R. B.					Regulations	..	..	1	17 11
MSS."	..	2	8	8	Expenses re Swarthmoor Hall				
		<hr/>			Account Book	..	..	9	8
Interest on Deposit Account	..			53	13	10		99	13 5
				1	4	6			
		<hr/>							
				<u>£201 15 10</u>				<u>£201 15 10</u>	

Examined and found correct,

AUGUSTUS DIAMOND,

Auditor.

FRIENDS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Balance Sheet 31st of Twelfth Month, 1916

LIABILITIES.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Swarthmoor Account Book Fund	..	57	0	3			
Less, paid during year	..		9	8			
					56	10	7
Supplement Account	..	35	3	6			
Add, additional subs. during year	..		2	8	37	12	2
Donations towards deficit	..	51	5	2			
Less deficit	..	44	13	5			
					6	11	9
Less sundry receipts	..		1	1			
					5	10	8
					£99	13	5

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THE JOURNAL

OF THE

FRIENDS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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Isaac Sharp, 1847:1917

ALTHOUGH the majority of our readers will have received, before this issue reaches them, the sad tidings of the death, on the 9th October, of Isaac Sharp, the vice-president of the Historical Society and also its treasurer, we wish to place on record our sense of the value of his services to this Society throughout its existence. In early days he acted as joint secretary and editor, and, although later, other work compelled him to withdraw officially from these positions, he was always at hand to advise, and he gave constant and valuable help to our present secretary and editor. Isaac Sharp was also a contributor to *THE JOURNAL*—perhaps the last of his public writings was the review which appears in our present issue, page 174.

Isaac Sharp was the thirteenth successor to Ellis Hookes, who was appointed Recording Clerk to the Society of Friends about 1657, and he held this office for twenty-seven years (1890-1917). During this time the work of Friends at the Central Offices very largely increased and the responsibility of the Recording Clerk became in consequence much greater, but Isaac Sharp was always ready to throw his energies into fresh channels and was prepared to give advice and assistance in a great variety of ways.

His death took place after a serious operation, and his cremated remains were laid to rest in the Friends' Burial Ground at Wanstead on the 13th October, amid many tokens of affection and regard.

Michael Yoakley's Charity

*Presidential Address by Robert H. Marsh, delivered at
Devonshire House, 24th May, 1917*

IT is one of the ironies of fate that I should be called upon to give a presidential address. Our first presidents, Dr. Thomas Hodgkin and John Stephenson Rowntree, gave none, and it is hard that an unfortunate president who has really nothing to say should have to say it in the absence of further items on the Agenda that might have sheltered him from his doom.

If the worst came to the worst, I must own that I was tempted by the subject of General Nathaniel Greene [1742-1786], the Quaker-born, favourite general of Washington, but the more I thought about it the more I felt that no one who dealt with the story of a life which Quakers may well be proud of, could add anything to Sir George Trevelyan's loving picture of Greene in his volumes on *The American Revolution*. I decided therefore to outline the history of a Charity, with which I was familiar, with a record of usefulness of over two hundred years.

The second largest Quaker charity, other than a school, which appears in the return moved for by Lord Robert Montagu in June, 1875, is Michael Yoakley's Charity, which devotes at least four-fifths of its income to the support of people who have no connection with Friends and is, except in its management, a non-Quaker charity. It has been closely associated with Friends, all the trustees who have administered it from 1709 till now having been Friends by birth.

Michael Yoakley, its founder, was born in 1631 at Margate, the family being a Thanet one, mostly resident in the parish of St. Peter's. William Beck in his booklet, *Ye Yoakley Charity*, says that Michael Yoakley is reputed to have once been a shepherd-boy at Drapers Farm, Margate, a property which he afterwards bought and on part of which the almshouses for the non-Quaker pensioners were subsequently built, in accordance with the terms of his will. It is said that whilst a shepherd-boy he vowed that

if he became a successful man he would buy the place and build almshouses there for poor people. He may have done so, such legends grow very easily. What is certain is that he took to a sea-faring life and prospered. His father probably joined Friends, as a notice of his death is entered in Monthly Meeting records as occurring in London in 1665. We know that Michael Yoakley himself was living in London in 1662, as in that year he bought certain property in Wentworth Street, Spitalfields—some ten minutes walk from here—part of which is still held by his trustees. In the purchase deed he is described as "Michael Yoakley the younger, of the precincts of St. Katharine's near the Tower of London, Mariner." Probably Michael Yoakley was one of the Margate sea-captains who had been compelled to remove to London for the sake of their business, Margate Harbour, owing to its unprotected state, having gone very much to decay at this period. We knew nothing of his voyages till last year when an interesting piece of information came to the Charity from Albert Cook Myers, the President of the Friends Historical Society this year. Writing to me on June 30th, 1916, he says :

Robert Marsh,
Dear Friend,

Referring to our conversation here at my office this morning, I have looked through my gleanings from the contemporary manuscripts, and I find that Michael Yoakley, master of the ship *Hopewell*, was loading his ship at the Port of London in August, 1676, for Maryland ; in July, 1682 (about a month before William Penn's first departure for Pennsylvania) for Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and Carolina, one of the shippers being Penn's brother-in-law, the well-known Quaker merchant of that day, Daniel Wharley, of George Yard, Lombard Street. A Carolina shipper was John Archdale, the Quaker Governor of that Colony. Again in July, 1683, Yoakley was in London loading goods on the same ship for Maryland and Virginia.

Sincerely yours,

ALBERT COOK MYERS.

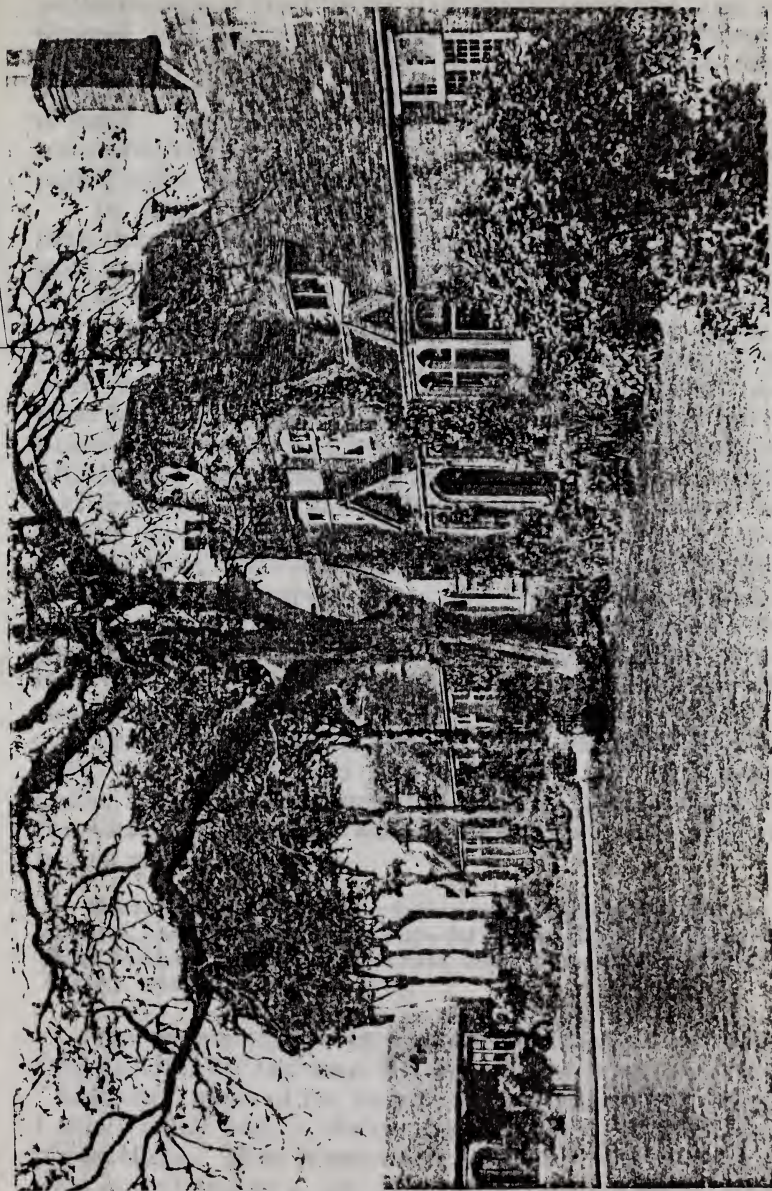
It is interesting thus to find Michael Yoakley brought into touch with William Penn, as taking out goods for the new colony of Pennsylvania for him and for a number of Friends interested in that colony. It is a thing of which those connected with the Charity had no knowledge until Albert Cook Myers brought it to their notice last year.

In 1685, two years after the last record of his loading up for Maryland and Virginia, the Ratcliff Monthly Meeting register shows that Michael Yoakley married the widow of a Friend, Henry Munday. In 1701, he bought Drapers Farm; and in 1708, he died and was buried in School House Lane, Ratcliff, in the Friends' Burial Ground there. His estate was estimated at £7,891, a good one for those days. His widow, Mary Yoakley, outlived him for twenty-two years, dying in 1730. Her last surviving child died three years after her, in 1733, without children, and the Whitechapel and Mossford Green property, the bulk of which had been left to Mary Yoakley's children by her first marriage, then fell in to the Charity, rendering it a good deal better off than Michael Yoakley had anticipated.

The name Yoakley, by the way, which was a common one in Thanet at one time, has become absolutely extinct in Kent and in London.

Some years before his death, Michael Yoakley had built or set aside from this property that he bought in Wentworth Street, three houses in Hope Court, Spitalfields, for "aged poor women." He started with eight or nine, but the number varied, sometimes getting as low as six. In 1713, there were six, and in 1717, there were eight. He offered these houses to the Devonshire House Monthly Meeting, telling it that he intended to found Almshouses for nine indigent Friends as the Monthly Meeting should approve. The Monthly Meeting hesitating because of some conditions in his "Paper," as they called it, relating to the Almshouses, he withdrew his offer, informing it that "he had settled the business of the poor to his content with the advice of Walter Miers."

The trustees, of whom I shall speak directly, at once took over the management of the houses on his death. It is doubtful whether the houses at Spitalfields were situated at the best place for their purpose. The trustees, therefore, in 1789, moved the occupants into houses in Raven Row, Whitechapel, belonging to the Charity, but there, apparently, they were not comfortable. It is said that the houses were "not well accommodated for warmth"; they were very expensive to maintain; and



[See p. 149.]

THE ORIGINAL ALMSHOUSES AT DRAPERS.

From photo. by Edward Marsh.

as the income of the Charity had largely increased, and as Counsel had advised the trustees that they might not spend any of the increased income on extending the Margate part of the Charity, the trustees decided in 1800 to build "comfortable distinct tenements," ten of which were completed in 1801 at a cost of £1,050. They were pulled down less than twenty years ago.

In 1834, the Trustees, still having more money than they knew what to do with, precluded as they were from spending it in erecting additional houses at Margate, bought land in Park Street, Stoke Newington, on which the present ten Almshouses and the Committee Room, were built. As the Raven Row pensioners were old, they were, with one exception, not removed, so that for the time being, the trustees kept two sets of Quaker pensioners, new pensioners being chosen in 1836 for the new Almshouses at Stoke Newington. In 1840, a legal decision was given that the rents, profits and income of all but the Wentworth Street block of property, the original piece, were applicable only to the support of the Almshouses at Drapers, Margate. That put a stop to any further extension of the Stoke Newington, or Quaker, part of the Charity, and, consequently, from that time the Margate part grew while the London part stood still.

Let us now turn to Margate. On the 22nd March, 1709, the trustees and Mary Yoakley met at Tom's Coffee House. I have here the original Minute Book of the Charity, worn and mildewed, as you see, and it begins in this way:

Met at Tom's Coffee House, according to appointment, the 22nd day of March, 1709, to confer with the carpenter and bricklayer from Margate about building the Almshouses ordered there to be built by Michael Yoakley, deceased.

The widow was there and all the trustees but one. One notices, by the way, in this minute book, that the "heathen" name of the month, as we used to call it when I was a small boy, is always used and never the Quaker phraseology. Nine houses and a superintendent's house were completed at a cost of £875 in 1710. I have here a piece of the original glass and lead work of one of the

(34)

Wee, whose names are hereunder writtten. Being the Surviving
 Executors, and Trustees, either nominales and appointed in and by the
 last will and Testament of Michael Yoakley late of the parish of Little
 Chappell in the County of Middx. Manier deceased or Person since ques-
 want to the Directions of the said will do hereby Decl. choos^e nominales
 and appoint Anthony Nash of London Governdor of small waies. to be
 a Trustee in the room of the said and place of Thomas Gove deceased and
 we do hereby according to the power and Directions given in and by the said
 will, Inwrit the said Anthony Nash with full power and Authority to act
 as a trustee under the said will as fully to all intents and purposes as
 is named therein. In Witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed
 our names dated the 26. of May 1719

Walter Miers -
 Richard Diamond
 Joseph. Neth.
 Simon Warner -
 Samuel Arnold -

Wm. Miers
 Richard Diamond
 Simon Warner
 Samuel Arnold

Mary yoakley - Surv. Adm^r

windows of these houses, which were put up just about when Marlborough was taking Mons, and the inmates of the Almshouses in which it was fixed looked out through this glass right away from that time down to this present war, when it happened that this window had to be taken away altogether.

William Beck, in the booklet that I have already referred to, gives details of the qualifications for such poor people as are to be admitted into the houses of the Charity, so that I will not take up your time by reading them at length. Among them Michael Yoakley stated that :

The said alms-people are to be such as have been housekeepers, and of an industrious and good life and godly conversation, and reduced to necessity not by sloth, idleness or their own luxury, but by lameness or such like acts of Divine Providence.

He also directed in his will, in order that the qualifications should be "publicly known," that "some few short sentences, according to copy left, were to be cut in fair characters in hard white marble stone and placed in the most convenient place in the front of the building, that all plea of ignorance or excuse may be excluded." He was very careful about it, and these "qualifications," as he calls them, have been cut in white marble stone "according to copy left," as follows :

In much Weakness ye God of Might did blest	
With Increase of Store.	
Not to maintain Pride and Idleness,	
But to relieve ye Poor.	
Such industrious poor as truly fear ye Lord	
Of a Meek,	} according to His Word.
Humble and	
Quiet Spirit.	
	Glory to God alone.

M.Y.

It was remarked in a local Guide Book that evidently though the founder of the Charity was a philanthropist he was not a poet.

The Margate Charity was far away, while the London Charity was close at hand and already established. Travelling was difficult in those days, but in 1710 Mary Yoakley and Robert Diamond went down "to settle the

poor people in their houses," which had been finished in 1709. No other visit was paid to this far-away place till 1738, twenty-eight years after. The third visit by four trustees took place in 1753, and the fourth visit in 1765, when "Mark Beaufoy and Jacob Hagen set out on the 24th of 8th Month 1765, in 'the Machine,' to Canterbury, and from thence in a postchaise to Margate that evening. Daniel Mildred took the opportunity of going by water in one of his ships bound for Philadelphia, and got there on First-day morning." "There" evidently means Margate and not Philadelphia, although it might be read differently.

There is an interesting point here that I should like to mention. There were six original trustees, and as any one of them resigned or died his place was taken by another, chosen by the remaining trustees, so that, following down, there is a regular succession of trustees; and Mark Beaufoy, who went to Margate in 1765, was sixth in succession to the original trustee of his series, Joseph Grove. It is specially interesting that, at our meeting this afternoon, a resolution should have been moved by one who is also sixth in succession to an original trustee. Our friend, John Morland, to whom I refer, is sixth in succession to an original trustee, Samuel Waldenfield. His trusteeship dates back to forty-nine years ago, and he is a "contemporary" in 1917, in the Charity history, with Mark Beaufoy who paid this visit to Margate in 1765, when Daniel Mildred's ship sailed to Philadelphia "in the colony of Pennsylvania."

At the fourteenth visit in 1834, it is noted that the trustees arrived by steamer. Hitherto they had always gone by coach as far as Canterbury. The sixteenth visit was paid in 1841, and thenceforward up to 1853, the visits were made about every two years, but since that date annually. In the minute book it is stated that they came by the *City of Canterbury* in 1850, and that is the last time it is mentioned that they went down by steamer. The name of the *City of Canterbury* seemed strangely familiar to me, and it flashed across my mind that in an old scrap book of about 1859, the first picture was a view of Herne Bay, with the *City of Canterbury* with a long funnel

and an awning on the deck, arriving at the pier. We can imagine the trustees, all probably in broad-brimmed hats, travelling down in the boat shown here in this old scrap-book. In 1853, they travelled by rail to Margate for the first time, and the *City of Canterbury* steamer saw them no more. In 1911, a trustee arrived by motor for the first time, and in 1914 all the trustees came on from Aylesford by motor. It is highly probable that in the future they may arrive by aeroplane, and if they do all I can say is that the present steward is not likely to go with them, if he is a free agent.

If the trustees who visited Drapers in 1738 could have revisited it after one hundred years they would have found practically no change in the buildings, but ten years later the first additions to the original almshouses were completed, the first four houses of two new wings being finished in 1848 and 1850 respectively. There had been times in the first hundred years of the Charity when, owing to lack of adequate income, the number of pensioners was as low as six, but the increased income from the London property, now available for the Margate endowment, enabled the number of houses to be increased, step by step, till by 1882 there were homes for 38 pensioners as well as the "Clock House" in the centre of the original block, for the superintendent. There is still room for additional houses whenever the needful funds for building and endowing them are forthcoming.

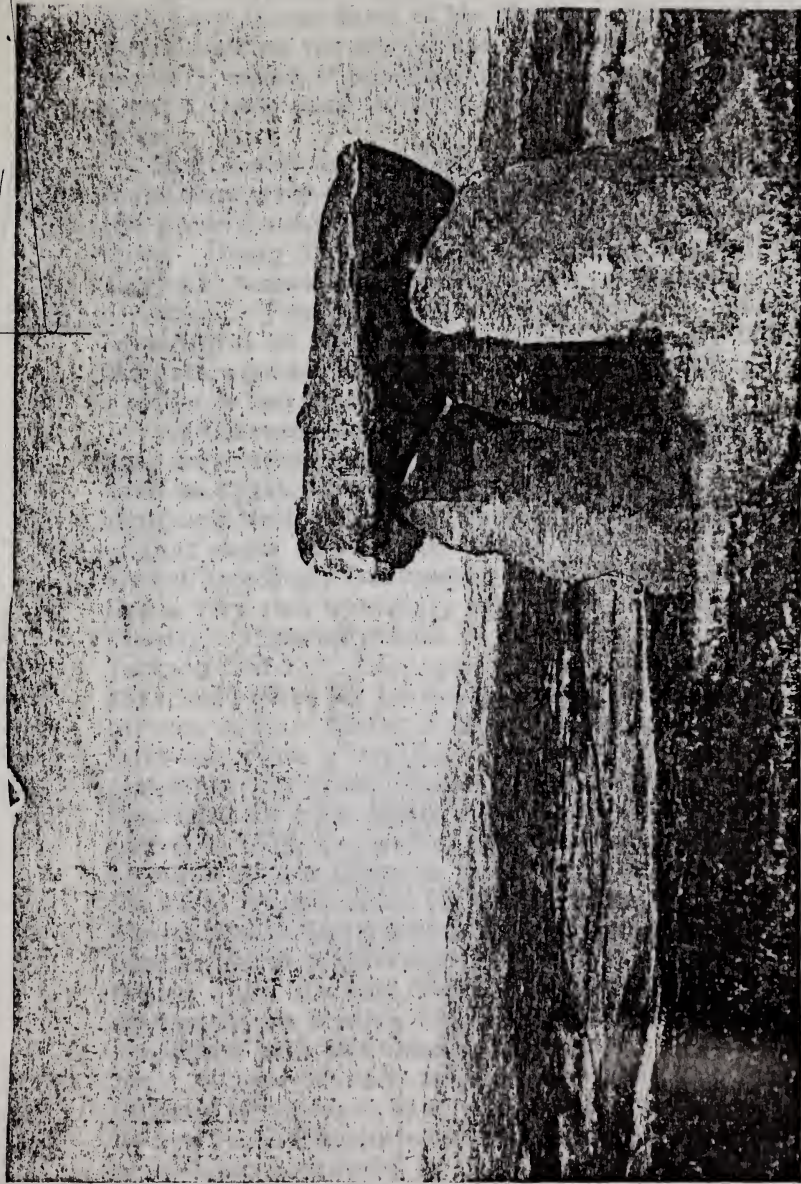
Then you may possibly ask, What do these good people get in these Almshouses? Till 1789 the allowance was something like 2s. 6d. a week in London, rising to 3s. a week in 1795 as the price of food got higher. It was raised again in 1800 to 4s. a week, and in 1823 to 5s. a week, with an allowance of coal, and there it stood until 1889, when John Horniman handed over funds to increase the allowance to the Stoke Newington pensioners to 7s. per week. At Margate they began in 1710, with 30s. a quarter; in 1795 the allowance was put on a weekly basis, 3s. a week being given; in 1800 this was increased to 4s. a week, and in 1823 to 5s. a week. In 1874, the allowance was made 6s. 6d. a week, which is the present allowance, each inmate also receiving an additional 5s. a year and a ton and a half of coal, but in view of the prices

of food now obtaining I am not sure whether it may not again be necessary to increase the allowance.

The property of the Charity has altered a good deal in the last fifty years. The Mossford Green portion, in Essex, has been sold and most of the proceeds used for the purchase of land adjoining Drapers Farm. More than half the Whitechapel-Road property having been taken compulsorily, piece by piece, by the Post Office authorities, the trustees finally invested the proceeds of these sales in the purchase of land at Aylesford, Kent, where they now own nearly 400 acres, together with Kit's Coty House—the famous cromlech overlooking the Medway valley—and the Lordship of the Manor of Tottington. Only a portion of the Aylesford property had been bought at the time of the death of Arthur Lister, F.R.S., who for many years was the treasurer of the Charity, to whom the addition of Kit's Coty House to the Charity's property would have been a source of great pleasure. The picture of it, which I have here, is from a sketch of his made in 1871, nearly forty years before the Charity became its owner.

Speaking of the march of the Jutes from Thanet towards London, Green, in his *Making of England*, says :

The country through which it led them was full of memories of a past which had even then faded from the minds of men ; for the hill-slopes which they traversed were the grave-ground of a vanished race, and scattered among the boulders which strewed the soil rose cromlechs and huge barrows of the dead. One mighty relic survives in the monument called Kit's Coty House, a cromlech that had been linked in old days by an avenue of huge stones to a burial-ground some few miles off near the village of Addington. It was from a steep knoll, on which the grey, weather-beaten stones of this monument are reared, that the view of their first battle-ground would break on Hengest's warriors ; and a lane which still leads down from it through peaceful homesteads would guide them across the river-valley to a ford which has left its name in the village of Aylesford that overhangs it. At this point, which is still the lowest ford across the Medway, and where an ancient trackway crossed the river, the British leaders must have taken post for the defence of West Kent ; but the chronicle of the conquering people tells nothing of the rush that may have carried the ford or of the fight that went struggling up through the village. We hear only that Horsa fell in the moment of victory ; and the flint heap of Horsted, which has long preserved his name, and was held in after-time to mark his grave, is thus the earliest of those monuments of English valour of which Westminster is the last and noblest shrine.



From a sketch by Arthur Lister

KIT'S COTY HOUSE AND MEDWAY VALLEY.

[See p. 154.]

The Aylesford property extends from just above Kit's Coty House down to the Medway, though not quite so far west as the site of the old ford. The Margate property, which at one time comprised over eighty-seven acres, is now some seventy-seven acres only, owing to sales.

The Charity is managed by six trustees. Since its foundation sixty-seven have been appointed and three of the present ones have served for thirty-three years or more. Henry Tuke Mennell, the treasurer, has attended forty-five consecutive annual meetings at Margate making a record. Joseph Jackson Lister had no chance of equalling it in his long trusteeship as annual visits to Margate were not instituted till he had been a trustee for over forty-two years.

Of the surnames of the trustees of two hundred years ago, only one is current now : Simeon Warner (trustee 1716 to 1754), Charles Heath Warner (trustee 1869 to 1879) and Metford Warner, elected in 1879, being the three of that name on the list. Some families have had an almost hereditary trusteeship, whilst they certainly have had a very real hereditary interest in the welfare of the Charity. Especially true is this of the Listers; Joseph Jackson Lister, F.R.S., appointed a Trustee in January, 1811, held office till his death in the autumn of 1869; his son, Arthur Lister, F.R.S., elected in 1867, was for forty-one years a trustee: whilst two of J. J. Lister's grandsons now hold office, Joseph Lister Godlee—who succeeded his uncle Smith Harrison (a son-in-law of J. J. Lister) in 1883, and Arthur Lister Harrison, who followed his uncle Arthur Lister in 1908. Conrad Beck succeeded his uncle William Beck on his retirement in 1896, whilst Charles Heath Clark continues the connection of his uncle Charles Heath Warner with the Charity. John Morland's father, John Morland, later John Morland himself and afterwards his brother Charles C. Morland, were similarly connected with the Charity as trustees. Going further back, Simeon Warner, appointed a Trustee in 1716, was followed by his son-in-law, Jacob Hagen, who was followed by two Jacob Hagens in immediate succession, so that the trusteeship continued in that family for 127 years in unbroken line. The connection of Simeon Warners'

descendants with Yoakley's Charity was resumed in an indirect way when I was appointed steward in 1887, my wife being a great-great-great-great-grand-daughter of Simeon Warner. I am almost ashamed to say that I have held the stewardship for the second longest period of any steward of the Charity, but am not likely to reach the forty-two years of my immediate predecessor, James Bowden, to whose researches I am largely indebted for the facts that I have so hurriedly placed before you this afternoon.

In conclusion, no one who can visit Kit's Coty House should miss the pleasure of doing so. At Margate, nothing, except the Thanet skies which Turner so admired, is so restfully beautiful as Drapers—a veritable "Harbour of Refuge" for many whose declining years have been peacefully spent there, thanks to the bounty of the old Quaker mariner who founded it, and to the generations of trustees who have given so much time and thought to the management of this interesting Charity.



YOAKLEY ALMSHOUSES, DRAPERS

From an old print

Reconstruction Work in the Reference Library

EDWARD CARROLL—whoever was he? I have never heard of him! So say I to myself as I come upon the name when reading through extracts from “The Journal of Richard Smith” in preparation for the printer of *The Journal of the Friends Historical Society*.

During the Yearly Meeting of 1823 Richard Smith meets the Committee for African Instruction—such well known Friends as Luke Howard, Robert Forster, Peter Bedford, George Jones, *et al.*, but including Edward Carroll. I look in J. J. Green’s index to *The Annual Monitor* and there I find “Caroll, Edward, Cork, died 1865, aged 80”—the same name. Perhaps he was attending Y.M. from the Sister Island and was asked to represent Irish Friends on the Committee. I’ll look at the Y.M. Minutes for 1823, he may be mentioned among representatives from Ireland. No, he’s not there, but what is this? The name appears among the representatives from London and *Middlesex* Q.M.! Then was he a London Friend? I must have the London and *Middlesex* Registers searched. Result—no Carroll among the births of the period or among the deaths, but among marriages, there is this entry:

Carroll, Edward, Uxbridge, Co. of *Middlesex*, [son of] Isaac and Ann Carroll, City of *Cork* in Ireland [to] Anna Lowe [at] Uxbridge 1816. 12. 18.

So here we have *Cork* and *Middlesex* brought together—so much to the good, but another entry in R. Smith’s “Journal” seems to indicate *Tottenham* as E. Carroll’s home. Anna Carroll! Perhaps I can work now through the wife. Consult again *The Annual Monitor* index. Yes. There’s an entry of the death of Anna (corrected from Ann in the copy in D.) Carroll in 1850, aged sixty-

four, but the place of residence is given as *Reading*. Perhaps *The Annual Monitor* itself will give some help. This I turn up and find :

Anna Carroll, Reading, 64. 12mo. 6 1850. Died at *Brighton*. A Minister. Wife of Edward Carroll.

Yes, Anna, wife of Edward, will do, but what about *Reading* and why *Brighton*? I write off to one of the oldest Friends in Brighton, who replies that she remembers the name but cannot recall particulars. I now know that Anna Carroll was a Minister. Was there perchance a Testimony issued? Down I go to one of the strong-rooms to the place of the volumes of Testimonies, seven folios in a row, all in writing, and I soon have before me the answer to many questions: "A Testimony of Reading and Warborough M.M. Anna Carroll was the eldest daughter of Richard and Elizabeth Lowe of Worcester and was born on the 18th of First Month, 1787. . . . In 1816 she was married to our friend Edward Carroll, and after a short residence at *Uxbridge*, they settled at *Tottenham*, where they resided several years, as they did also subsequently at Liverpool, Birmingham, and *Reading*. . . . She accompanied her husband to *Brighton* in the 11th Month, 1850, . . . but after being there a short time she . . . died and was interred in Friends' Burial Ground there."

So far so good. The question now comes—how am I to connect the Edward Carroll of *Reading* in 1850 with the Friend of the same name who died in *Cork* in 1865 aged eighty. In the first draft of my note I have: "On the death of his wife . . . he may have returned to his native country." But further investigation proves the exact opposite to be the fact and I erase this gratuitous statement!

According to the card-catalogue there is among John Thompson MSS. a paper endorsed "Edward Carroll re his imprisonment at Osbaldwick, Yorks, 1851." In the earlier stages of this reconstruction this reference seemed to have little if any meaning, but now that we have brought Edward Carroll down to the end of 1850, the card assumes more importance, so I get up from the depths of the New Strongroom the volume of manuscripts containing the above paper and find that it is

a quarto sheet, closely written, frequently underlined, and crossed toward the end. It begins "Osbaldwick dreadful Prison n^r York @ Thos. Allis's¹ place of awful solitary confinement 8th month 1851, from most awfully afflicted wretched and miserable Edward Carroll," refers to "cruel wicked Jas Backhouse in bringing me to & placing me in this dreadful abode of death,"² and contains the sufferer's urgent request to be allowed "to go to *Cork* my native place and assist my Brother in his business there." Doubtless the same man and yet how changed! I must leave him in this private asylum while I seek confirmation from other sources.

From Edith Webb, Recording Clerk of Friends in Ireland, I learn that Edward Carroll, son of Isaac and Ann Carroll³ of Cork, was born in that city in 1784. "We have no record of his marriage [because he was married in England]. He died in 1865 at Bloomfield *Retreat*, Dublin, aged about 80½ years."

So, identification is complete, and the poor man was sent back to his native Island, but did not recover his mental equilibrium.

The question now arises what effect the publication of these facts would have upon any living descendants or friends? I write to J. Ernest Grubb of Munster Province and ask his view on this, and he kindly communicates with Friends of Cork and district. The result is that the Record Clerk of Cork M.M. supplies valuable dates, and a collateral descendant of Edward Carroll states that "he was sent from *York* with a caretaker to Abram and Jane Fisher of Youghal. My mother remembers him there well. We have a daguerreotype of him. We have no objection to publication."

Two questions remain unsolved. Was Edward Carroll a Minister? and what produced his mental trouble? With regard to the first. While these

¹ For Thomas Allis (1788-1875), see xiv. 120 n.

² This reference to James Backhouse (1794-1869) of York, is explained by the fact that he married Deborah Lowe (1793-1827), sister of Anna (Lowe) Carroll. Elizabeth (Allis) Lowe (1757-1821), mother of these sisters and other children, died at Tottenham at the house of the Carrolls. See *Select Family Memoirs*, by James Backhouse, York, 1831.

³ Isaac Carroll married Ann Fisher, of Youghal, in 1783.

researches were in progress I went down to Wellingborough at the request of the Gravely family to see some Quaker literature and brought back *inter alia* a MS. account of London Y.M. 1825, in which I find that Edward Carroll visited the Women's Meeting, and later delivered "a sweet communication in meeting," but a further confirmation of his position was to come in a remarkable way.

The great German air raid on London took place on Saturday, July 7th, and among the victims was a gentleman and his daughter who were both killed in the destruction of their office. A son of the deceased gentleman called at Devonshire House shortly after and stated that his father had purchased an ancient desk from a Quaker living, he thought, at Tottenham, and in it, he, the son, had found some old Quaker papers. He brought two to Devonshire House as specimens, thinking that they might be of interest to Friends, and one of them proved to be the original document liberating "our friends, Edward and Anna Carroll, *ministers* in good esteem" for service in Sussex and Surrey and signed by numerous Friends of Tottenham M.M.!

As to the second undecided point I have, at present, no evidence. I can only suppose that the death of Anna Carroll in some way contributed to her husband's mental breakdown.

ADDENDUM.

Since the last paragraph was written "evidence" has come to hand, contained in letters written from London to the South of Ireland, 1821 to 1835, that for some years E. Carroll had been out of health and that business troubles had weighed heavily on his mind.

The above is presented as a specimen of successful research, but success in one case is often counterbalanced by failure in another. Nevertheless we never despair of any man.

NORMAN PENNEY.

*Friends' Reference Library,
Devonshire House, E.C.2.*

Richard Smith and his Journal, 1817-1824

Concluded from page 121

RICHARD SMITH'S family at first felt much resentment at the circumstances of his death, and blamed Friends for leaving him alone at Birkow—not unreasonably, though we may be sure that he fully consented to the arrangement. The Committee in London were greatly concerned when they heard the news; Robert Forster writes, 10th mo. 11th, 1824: "We had not been otherwise than fully alive to the peculiar precariousness of human life (as relates to Europeans) on the coast of Africa, but we had indulged a hope that Richard Smith's constitution and habits would render him less susceptible." Later, T. Chorley comforts them thus, 6th mo. 10th, 1825: "I have reason to believe that he returned to Europe under a concern to be instrumental in instructing the negroes, and that no persuasion or fear of the consequences would have induced him to forego the opportunity afforded him by the Committee."

The transcript of the Journal gives little information regarding R.S.'s relations; he spent the last sixteen days of his father's life in close attendance upon him; three brothers are mentioned—Charles, who was perhaps his father's assistant, seems to have afterwards worked in the office at Endon; this was the brother with whom R.S. kept up a correspondence when in America and Africa; John, the maltster at Alton, whose cash book was never written up and would never balance; and Thomas, the farmer at Butterton, some miles to the west, beyond Trentham Park; R.S. attended to his accounts also. There was one sister, Mary, the wife of Charles Heaton; but though R.S. lived for so many months in this house, she is named on one occasion only, when she was unwell, and asked his prayers as he sat by her bedside. He was fond, no doubt, of the young Heatons, his nephews and nieces, in his quiet way: he cut their hair, made gardens for them, and helped them to draw: and on two occasions, at their request and by their father's leave, one of the boys accompanied him to meeting.

No one who reads the Journal can doubt that R.S. lived under an ever-present sense of Divine guidance; whatever were the trials and disappointments that he met with, and they were many and sharp and led often to depression of spirit lasting for days at a time, he was able to win through—to bear with equal mind the misunderstandings which were frequently his lot. Had compromise in non-essentials been possible to him, who will deny that his life would have been easier? A change of religious allegiance sometimes broadens, but often narrows tolerance of other views; the Journal is full of instances to show that R.S. was more zealous than the average Friend, and very unwilling to join in worship with any of other forms of religious belief. The effect on Hannah

Kilham, who was born an Anglican and married a Wesleyan minister before she joined Friends, was the reverse; and, under her influence perhaps, R.S. was more ready to associate with the missionaries stationed in the Gambia than he had previously shown himself to be with men of other sections of the Christian Church. Remarks in the Journal indicate that his depression of spirit sometimes arose from hunger and exhaustion; he feels his spirit, as well as his body, refreshed by food. The sense of the Power under which he lived was so strong that the expression of Its guidance became almost too habitual; it seems incongruous to use the words "previous exercise" when he had been undecided for a month whether he wanted new clothes; or to say, as he does constantly, "I felt peace" in a sense which only means the pleasant feeling of satisfaction natural at the end of a day's work well done. "If a conscientious man does not keep hold of his good common-sense, his mind may become so dominated with scruples that he comes to see wrong in everything or in the way of doing it," says a letter in *The Friend* of 25th February, 1916; a wise remark which, if R.S. had observed it, would have spared him some mistakes, as in the matter of his white hat; that he, devoted to Truth, should create a false impression, was clearly wrong. He was unflinchingly faithful to apprehended duty, shown week after week in Staffordshire in the determination to attend meetings for worship, whatever the distance; and perhaps most striking of all was his return to Zanesville on the 1st of Ninth Month, 1820, when wretchedly ill, to remonstrate with the mill-owners on their oppressive charges (see xiv. 19). He refers to himself sometimes as "set as a sign"; and it was so in fact, whether among Friends whose practice did not reach the standard of his own principles, or among his relatives and neighbours, many of whom failed egregiously to understand him.

There is, in the autobiography of Mary Howitt, the following paragraph referring to R.S. :—

"Before he embarked for Africa he came over to our house, [i.e., to the house of Samuel Botham of Uttoxeter] to take leave of my parents and sisters. Silence being the rule of his life, he walked into the parlour, sat in stillness with the members of the family for twenty minutes, rose up, shook hands with each, and so departed without uttering a word,"

which is characteristic and probable even if not absolutely true to fact.

In his enthusiasm and conscious honesty of purpose, he did not always make allowance for the other side of the question: he was profoundly discouraged at the lukewarm reception he met with at the hands of the Indian Committee of Ohio Yearly Meeting; by the questions asked in good faith by the Committee who visited him on his application for membership in the Society of Friends; and, when he came in contact with the robust common-sense of the Committee for African Instruction—a body of Friends whose sincerity he could not possibly doubt, he was disturbed because they asked some very natural questions.

There is ground for thinking that R.S. proved a difficult co-adjutor in the work on the Gambia; ill-health may well have made him often-

times irritable and peevish ; we have already seen that Hannah Kilham in a meeting for worship, expressed a wish for more " knitting together " ; the letters of 1825 of L. Howard and T. Chorley, already quoted, refer to " much that must be omitted from any publication of the Journal "— matters on which H.K. had been able to satisfy the Committee. T. Chorley was plainly concerned to defend him, for he says : " Our dear Friend was without doubt in some instances a little deceived, but not very subject to err in his judgment of those who were about him ; and as he cannot now be heard in his own defence, let us leave what we cannot explain, and give him everything that is due to the most upright intention." To understand all is to pardon all ; H.K.'s verdict before the start from London is given, 9th mo. 16th, 1823 : " A sincere, solid, active, persevering, and disinterested man. He goes at his own expense, having a small independent property."

Reading R.S.'s Journal and the *Memoir* of H.K. together, we cannot but conclude that the former hardly does justice to the work of John Thompson ; it rarely mentions him, and certainly gives no adequate conception of the part played by J. T. in the development of Birkow.

Friends never attempted further work in the Gambia. : " the removal of this pious and devoted individual . . . was a severe blow to the undertaking, and with it closed the attempt to prosecute this work of Christian love on the coast of Africa, which he was so successfully promoting " (*Memoir of Hannah Kilham*). The Committee for African Instruction continued in existence for some years ; but the mortality among the missionaries at Sierra Leone was so great that they might well feel unable to take the responsibility for further effort in such a " praise-worthy, but highly perilous enterprise " (L.H.). Under very strong concern on the part of H.K. she went under their auspices to Sierra Leone in 1827 and again in 1830 ; and she died at sea between Liberia and Sierra Leone on the 31st of Third Month. 1832.

There are no reports of the Committee in the Reference Library later than the circular of Ninth Month, 1824.

The Yorkshireman, a magazine issued periodically under the editorship of Luke Howard, contains, in the volume for 1832-3, the full report as presented to the Yearly Meeting of 1825, followed by a paper of General Observations on the enterprise, from the pen of the Editor.

THE ORIGINAL DIARIES

It has already been stated (see xiv. 25), that Richard Smith's own Journals, from which Toft Chorley made his transcript, have been lent by their present owner. The volumes for the three interesting years—1817, which covered the departure for America and the walk to Pittsburgh ; 1820, with the expeditions to the Negro and Indian Settlements, and the return to England ; and 1823, which contained the preparations for, and the voyage to the Gambia—are now missing ; but against this loss, we have the diary of 1816, which elucidates an earlier period.

The first of these is the fact that the United States is a young nation. It is only about 150 years old, and its history is therefore a history of rapid growth and change. The second is the fact that the United States is a large nation. It covers a vast area of land, and its population is one of the largest in the world. The third is the fact that the United States is a diverse nation. It is made up of many different peoples, languages, and cultures, and this diversity has been a source of strength and vitality for the nation.

The fourth is the fact that the United States is a nation of immigrants. It has been built by people from many different parts of the world, and this has helped to create a unique American identity. The fifth is the fact that the United States is a nation of pioneers. It has a long history of exploration and discovery, and this has helped to shape its character and destiny.

The sixth is the fact that the United States is a nation of freedom. It is a land where people are free to live their lives as they see fit, and this has been a source of pride and honor for the nation. The seventh is the fact that the United States is a nation of progress. It has always been at the forefront of scientific and technological advancement, and this has helped to make it a powerful and influential nation. The eighth is the fact that the United States is a nation of hope. It is a land where people believe in a better future, and this has helped to create a sense of optimism and confidence in the nation.

The ninth is the fact that the United States is a nation of unity. Despite its many differences, it has always been a united people, and this has helped to make it a strong and resilient nation. The tenth is the fact that the United States is a nation of peace. It has a long history of peaceful relations with other nations, and this has helped to make it a respected and admired nation.

THE UNITED STATES IN THE WORLD

The United States is a nation that has played a major role in the history of the world. It has been a leader in the development of science and technology, and it has been a champion of freedom and democracy. It has also been a powerful force for peace and stability in the world. The United States is a nation that has made many contributions to the world, and it is a nation that is proud of its achievements.

The volume of 1816 is a pocket-book, covered in red leather, with a flap; the pages—a week on a page and cash columns opposite—measure 6½ ins. by 3¾ ins. Those for succeeding years are home-made (1818 and 1819 octavo, 1821, 1822, and 1824 quarto) covered in stout brown paper; 1818 worn and shiny, as if much carried in the pocket; 1821 was kept on loose sheets and sewn at the end of the year, for the writing is stitched in. 1816, 1818, and 1819 have cash accounts in them, giving helpful additional information; the two latter have also some debtor and creditor accounts in the nature of a ledger, but there are references throughout to other books of account, and nothing appears to indicate a balance sheet.

T. Chorley's transcript is fairly complete for 1818 and 1819, though he was not quite careful to follow exactly either spelling or form of sentence: the accidental omission of words has, in a few cases, conveyed an erroneous impression, and some necessary corrections are added below. Much is omitted from 1821 and 1822 which was not pertinent to T.C.'s purpose, or of a private or business nature, improper to disclose to the eyes of that generation. The diary for 1824 is a witness to R.S.'s failing health; the notes are scrappy, and the handwriting indicates that he had not energy to mend his quills, for the neat, and in some places hairlike penmanship of the earlier years has become thick, sprawling and irregular—the deterioration gradual but progressive. The record of 1824 contains nothing to justify the supposition that there had been any serious disputes between R.S. and J. Thompson (see xiv. 115), or, except details of health and medicine, anything to conceal (see xiii. 50). The journals of 1821 and 1822 give a most minute account, often in quite absurd detail, of his occupation in his brother-in-law's office; perhaps the object was to enable him to calculate the time spent, so as to compute his remuneration.

It has been noted (see xiv. 65) that the transcript makes little or no mention of T. Chorley; it is therefore interesting to find that R.S. dined very regularly at T.C.'s house on First-days, and often after the mid-week meeting.

In the parcel containing the diaries are three other MS. books; one with notes on Hebrew words, another a folio containing drafts of letters, and a book of forty-one recipes and hints—agricultural, veterinary, culinary and medical; these were collected in Ohio, and include six substitutes for tea, though most of these seem rather to be medicinal. The bases of them are: Sassafras root and raspings of *lignum vitæ*; sweet marjoram and mint; dry sage and green balm leaves; rosemary and lavender; fennel seed and inner bark of magnolia (spicewood); small twigs of white oak, well dried in the sun, with two leaves of sweet myrtle. The last "is so good a counterfeit of true tea that good judges might mistake them."

CORRECTIONS AND NOTES

- xiii. 51. R.S. spelt "Omniscient" correctly.
- xiii. 51. Note 1. The parenthesis was R.S.'s.
- xiii. 51. "J.N." James Nixon, a Friend from Stafford in the employ of F. and S. Eveleigh, Southwark.

- xiii. 54. Extract 2 mo. 2. This is quite misleading; it has been repeated in full at xiv. 60.
- xiii. 54. Extract 2 mo. 23. The word "him" in the third line should be be "E.B."
- xiii. 98. Note 7. The name was John Ward.
- xiii. 129. For the credit of William Wood's good sense it is satisfactory to find that it was at meeting and not at the school that this text was used.
- xiii. 132. It was the *new* discipline against which the young Freemasons protested; the previous day has the record:—"The alteration of the Discipline was proceeded in in a loving manner." Two names are omitted from the list of Friends present at Ohio Yearly Meeting with certificates:

John Letchworth ⁴	}	Chester Co.
Caleb Pennock ⁵	}	Penna.

During the Yearly Meeting R.S. stayed with Jonathan and Ann Taylor, and made himself useful each morning helping with the horses—a heavy and necessary duty at Y.M. in those days.

The fresh light thrown by the original MS. on the subject of "E.B." (see xiii. 54), shows that there was no matrimonial project connected with it. E.B. was a married lady, the wife of James Beech, of the Shaw, near Cheadle, who, as has already been seen in the course of the narrative, esteemed R.S. and valued his qualities; and he, on his part, held her in great respect; to judge from the only specimen in the draft letter-book, his correspondence with her was of a religious character.

The "E.B." theory being quite untenable, there remains the question of the reason for Matthew Smith's injunction of 7 mo. 13, 1816 against marriage, and of R.S.'s satisfaction when the letter withdrawing it reached him on 12 mo. 28, 1818 (see xiii. 53). There is, in each case, just a hint:

1816.

1 mo. 21. 1st Thoughts on M^{re} with H.B. or rather Betroth.

and at the end of 1817 a statement that he saw two people at Pittsburgh home in the evening, with a pencil reference in the transcript to 12 mo. 28, 1818; but these clues are too slight to offer a solution. The original of 1817, now lost, must have been more explicit, otherwise the pencil reference is meaningless.

1816.

With some account of Richard Smith in 1816, we complete all that can be ascertained of his life. At the opening of the year he was in Manchester, closely engaged in settling the accounts of his partnership with Thomas Welch; unfortunately the firm cannot be traced in the directories of the period. The dissolution of partnership was signed on 1st mo., 6th, and R.S. returned to Endon, where he received a salary for work in his brother-in-law's office. T. Welch gave him bills for £800 for the machinery, and R.S. seems to have undertaken to collect the debts due to the firm, though it is not clear whether the proceeds were

part of his share. He had had a house, or unfurnished rooms, for the arrival of furniture from Manchester, and its storage in C. Heaton's garret is mentioned.

He was back in Manchester for the period from 5th mo. 1st to 6th mo. 15th, and again for a time in 10th month. During the latter visit he made a debt-collecting journey into Wales, attending a Monthly Meeting at Chester, going to Flint and back in an open boat on the river Dee; then by coach to Eastham and steam-packet to Liverpool, where he was at meeting on the First-day.

The year 1816 was one of great commercial difficulty at the end of the Napoleonic wars; the failure of private individuals and the stoppage of banks is recorded here and there. Poor R.S. was, we may be sure, amply justified in the relief to which he gave expression in the entries of 5th mo. 1817 (see xiii. 55).

1816.

12 mo. 1. Dined with Toft Chorley who recommended a personal application for the settling Colonial accounts of long standing.

R.S. was already firmly attached to the Society of Friends at the beginning of 1816. Leek and Manchester Meetings (including, with some exception, the mid-week one) were attended regularly. At Manchester he knew Martha Routh's name as that of the leading Minister; at his first attendance there in 5th month he "signed the Marriage Covenant of William Nield and Mary Hoyle." Bearing in mind the references in the autumn of 1820 to between "5 and 6 years ago," and "5½ Years" (see xiv. 19) we shall probably not err if we conclude that he came under Friends' influence in Manchester in the spring of 1815.

It would be about the same time when he began to study Hebrew, which he took up again on reaching Manchester in 5th month at the "4th of 2nd quarter or 30th lesson" and completed six weeks later with the "54th and last." The lessons cost 1s. 3d. and latterly 1s. each; but his teacher, T. Newton, also sold him Hebrew books, grammars, etc. to the value of over £10. In Tenth Month, one or two lessons in Chaldee, at 1s. 3d., were taken from the same tutor, and a Hebrew and Chaldee grammar bought for 5s.

1816.

5 mo. 11. Visited the Jews' synagogue for the first time and their forms of outward worship.

Memoranda of interest are an account which T. Chorley related on Second Month 25th, of an extraordinary tide in the river Humber, which did damage to the extent of many thousands of pounds; on Third Month 17th a long extract from a newspaper recounts an earthquake which was widely felt in South Yorkshire and Derbyshire.

7 mo. 23. C.H. says I have *disappointed* him in not having the above copied in time; a lesson to me to use no *rejoinders*.

11 mo. 17. C. and M. Heaton's 2 child Cath. and Chas. taken to Endon Steeple-House to be what is called christened.

12 mo. 5. Jos. Lay invited me to come higher up in the meeting.

The following—the last interesting entry in 1816, though written some years before his death, forms a fitting conclusion to the account of this pious and unusual man :

12 mo. 20. I have abundant cause for thankfulness to the Almighty for having been preserved through so many difficulties and dangers when exposed so much to the world in my simplicity. I feel gratitude to my earthly Father for his behaviour to me throughout and his seasonable Letters.

JOHN DYMOND CROSFIELD.

⁸⁴ John Letchworth's name and fame are recorded in a poem by Nathan Kite, of Philadelphia, entitled "The Arm Chair," printed in *Select Miscellanies*, collected by Wilson Armistead, London, 1851, vol. v., p. 104, of which the origin was on this wise: An arm chair, made many years ago by John Letchworth, for Leonard and Jane Snowdon, was presented to the author, with some information of the worthies who were wont to visit the estimable owners; accompanied with an intimation that it would be a suitable theme for some verses:

"He who with artist's skill scooped out the seat,
Trim made thy elbows, uprights, and thy feet,
Now fourscore years and four are measured o'er,
And waits his summons to the heavenly shore."

⁸⁵ Caleb Pennock (1752-1841) is also celebrated in "The Arm Chair" (see previous note).

In Praise of Silence

"From the tearing clatter of speech, where so much is said and so little is meant, where so many words go to so little a measure of sense, it is a treat indeed to get away into silence. . . . In silence we can at least think for ourselves and go our own way."

COURTENAY, *The Empire of Silence*, 1916, p. 5.

"A bird's song is made up of a warble and a silence," one has well said, "and the silence is part of the song."

COURTENAY, *The Empire of Silence*, 1916, p. 6.

Aldo, the great Venetian printer, set up over his door this notice: "No leisure for gossiping. Those only are admitted who come on business, which they are specially requested to despatch in as few words as possible."—COURTENAY, *The Empire of Silence*, 1916, p. 54.

Friends in Carmarthenshire¹

IN the *Inventory* for this, the largest, county in Wales, just issued by the Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments in Wales and Monmouthshire, are the following references to Friends' Meeting Houses and Burial Grounds, visited and reported upon by its Inspecting Officer, George Eyre Evans.

FRIENDS' BURIAL GROUND, parish of Llandingat Within. (6in. Ord. Surv. sheet, Carm. 18 S.W.; lat. 51° 59' 39"; long. 3° 48' 10".)

A small site two perches in extent, now covered by railway premises, was formerly known as "Cae Quakers." The ground was acquired in 1689 by the Society of Friends for a Burial Ground, and interments continued to be made in it until the first few years of the nineteenth century. The space was enclosed by walls, and entered by an oaken door on which was the date 1752. The Friends decreased in numbers and influence, and the little burial place was neglected. In 1864 it was acquired for railway purposes, and all recollection of it has faded away save from the memories of a few of the older inhabitants.—Visited 7th April, 1913.²

Transactions Carm. Antiquarian Society, iv. 47 et seq.

MADAM BEVAN'S HOUSE, Laugharne Township. (6in. Ord. Surv. sheet, Carm. 45 S.W.)

The foundress of the system of circulating schools in Wales resided for many years in Laugharne, in a house that stood midway between the Town Hall and Cliff Chapel, and that was pulled down in the year 1859. A visit to this house in 1753 is recorded in a MS. "Account

¹ For "Friends in Montgomeryshire," see vol. xi. no. 3, p. 106; in Radnorshire, vol. xi. no. 4, p. 190; in Denbighshire, vol. xii. no. 1, p. 28.

² The "Llandovery" of early Friends, the town being in the parish of Llandingat Within. For further particulars see *Cardiganshire, Its Antiquities*, 1903, p. 192. The Yearly Meeting was held here in 1709. Richard Headington of Oddington, near Stow-on-the-Wold, who died whilst on a tour to the "Churches of Christ in Wales," was buried here in 1717, on the 25th of Tenth Month, aged 67 years.

of a Journey through Wales," written by John Player, a Quaker,³ and here, in 1761, died the Rev. Griffith Jones, rector of Llanddowror, Madam Bevan's coadjutor in her philanthropic labours.

QUAKERS' BURIAL GROUND, Laugharne Township. (6in. Ord. Surv. sheet, Carm. 45 S.W. ; lat. $51^{\circ} 46' 35''$; long. $4^{\circ} 27' 58''$.)

On the left of the Laugharne-St. Clear's high road, opposite to Ants' Hill House, is a narrow lane, at the further end of which is the site of a Burial Ground of the Society of Friends. It was formerly known as "the Fold, part of the fields called Tucking Mill Park," and as such was purchased in 1726 by Mary Perrot of Laugharne—"to dig graves or pits and to bury therein the descendants of Mary Perrot, and all or any of the people called Quakers." It was used for burials until 1827, when the occupier of the surrounding meadow ploughed it up (*Trans. Carm. Antq. Socy.* iv. 27, 65). The fence which had enclosed it has long since disappeared and the Burial Ground (measuring 75 feet by 30 feet) has been thrown into the field of which it formed part ; but the outline of the enclosure is distinctly traceable. The spot is marked by fine sycamore trees, and is yet known as "The Quakers' Yard."

In the MS. Visitation of 1710 by Archdeacon Tenison is the entry : "In this parish are two meetings, one of

³ Extract from said MS.—"This day, 29th of 11th mo, we [*i.e.*, John Player and William Brown]—set forward for Laugharne from Jamestown, with our Harford hireling, where we got about the 2nd hour afternoon, and was there met by John Allen of Carmarthen. We got a meeting here in the Meeting-house in the evening, but it being very cold there was but few people at it, there being but one in unity with Friends in the town, who was ill : however it pleased the great Lord to Order something for them by way of Invitation—they behaved civil. The morrow being advised that there was a woman of Some Quality in this town, who was much cited up for her Piety and Charitable acts to the poor, and for being a Zealous Christian, my companion found freedom in his mind to see her, and spend some time in religious conversation. Accordingly John Allen went to know if it might be agreeable to see her, but she being engaged in morning prayer with her family, could not speak to her then : but in a little time after we got some breakfast at our inn, and saw the sick friend, and went and saw her—who received us with a great deal of fashionable freedom. She was full of Brain knowledge, being too wise to learn of Christ, and a thorough bigot to the priests, tho' at our parting she said she was much obliged for the visit, and esteemed it a favour."—*Trans. Carm. Antq. Socy.*, iv. 28.

the Quakers, and one of the Presbyterians. They are both of long standing. The Quakers have continued ever since the reign of K. Charles II., and the Presbyterians were here in K. James' reign." The Meeting House of the Friends was built in 1742 on a site "late in the possession of Mary Perrot." It was subsequently used as a dwelling house, and eventually razed. Its quaint interior was sketched in the year 1840, and a copy of the sketch by Mr. Weight Matthews is published in the Carmarthenshire Antiquarian Society's *Encilion*, No. II, 1913.⁴

It is probably not generally known that the subject of Friends in Carmarthenshire—at Carmarthen, Laugharne, Llandeilo fawr (and Brynman Burial Ground), Llandovery Burial Ground, Llandebie, and Llansadwrn—with *personalia* of many little known Welsh Friends was exhaustively dealt with by the Carmarthenshire Antiquarian Society in its *Transactions* for the years 1908-1909, vol. 4. The particulars were mainly gleaned from the valuable Minute Books and other MSS. then stored in the Neath Meeting House, in the custody of F. William Gibbins, a member of the Antiquarian Society. These documents extended from 1700 to mid nineteenth century, and had not, so far as is known, been previously and systematically "worked." A print of every chapter was deposited in D.

GEO. EYRE EVANS.

⁴ References to Laugharne occur so early as the year 1700 in the Minutes of Pembrokeshire Monthly Meeting, when at Q.M. held at Redstone on the 4th of Ninth Month, "it was concluded that the next Q.M. be held at Laugharne the next fourth day after the General Meeting at Redstone on the 12th of next month." Thomas Connock and James and Michael Sankett are names of resident Friends in 1747.—*Trans. Carm. Antq. Socy.*, iv. 28.

Wherever priesthood was established by law, reformation was punished as sedition.

GEORGE HARRISON, *Adversaria*, 1818, p. 252, *ex* Robinson's *Ecclesiastical Researches*, 1792.

He that ceases to be useful to others becomes a burden to himself.

Shepherd of the Pyrenees, quoted in Harrison's *Adversaria*, 1818, p. 1.

William Jenkyn, Ejected Minister

W. JENKYN, who died in the year 1685, partook, with others, of the persecutions of the day; and when at last committed to Newgate, petitioned the king for a release, his physicians declaring that his life was in danger from the close confinement. But no answer could be obtained but this: "Jenkyn shall be a prisoner as long as he lives."

This was most rigorously adhered to, for he died in Newgate. He was, however, greatly supported; and said to one of his friends, "What a vast difference there is between this and my first imprisonment! Then I was full of doubts and fears, of grief and anguish; and well I might, for going out of God's way and my calling, to meddle with things that did not belong to me. But now, when I was found in the way of my duty, in my Master's business, tho' I suffer even to bonds, yet I am comforted beyond measure. The Lord sheds abroad his love sensibly in my heart; I feel it, I have assurance of it."

Turning to some who were weeping by him, he said, "Weep you for me? Christ lives, he is my friend; a friend born for adversity; a friend that never dies. Weep not for me, but weep for yourselves, and for your children."

A nobleman, having heard of his death, said to the king, "May it please your Majesty, Jenkyn has got his liberty." Upon which he asked with eagerness, "Aye, who gave it him?" The nobleman replied, "A greater than your Majesty, the King of kings," with which the king seemed much struck and remained silent.

From a manuscript in **D**.

William Jenkyn (1613-1685) was born at Sudbury and was sent by his grandfather and guardian to Cambridge at the age of fourteen. In 1641 he became a minister of Christchurch and lecturer of St. Anne's, Blackfriars, London. Having refused to observe public

thanksgiving appointed by Parliament, he was suspended from his ministry, his place being taken by Christopher Feake, Fifth-monarchy Man. Jenkyn was sent to the Tower for participation in the plot of Christopher Love (1618-1651), but was restored to his living in 1655. After some retirement in consequence of the Act of Uniformity and the Oxford Act, he returned to London and preached once more in the City till his arrest in 1684.

Jenkyn collaborated with others in anti-quaker writings in 1656 and 1675.

The above recital of sufferings will serve to remind us of the many persecutions for religion outside the pale of early Quakerism.

There is a portrait of Jenkyn in an extra-illustrated copy of *The Nonconformist's Memorial*, by Calamy and Palmer, in D.

See Blome's *Fanatick History*, 1660; Macaulay's *History*; D.N.B.

Daniel Defoe and William Penn

WILLIAM PENN, the famous Quaker, . . . was then at the height of his renown. . . . He occupied himself earnestly in attempting to obtain a mitigation of Defoe's sentence [to stand three times in the pillory, and was imprisoned for more than one year]. John Hill Burton [1809-1881], in his *Reign of Queen Anne*, publishes some documents, which have a curious interest and have given rise to some conflicting explanations in connection with Penn's humane efforts for the release of Defoe. . . . Nothing came of Penn's interference at that time. . . . The effort made by William Penn to obtain Defoe's exemption from the disgraceful punishment decreed for him is an appropriate illustration of Penn's whole career, and indeed of the work which Penn's co-religionists appear always to have marked out for themselves. The Quakers are hardly to be classed among the dissenting bodies of Queen Anne's reign. Theirs was the very dissidence of Dissent. It

cannot be said that their hand was against that of every other community in the religious world, but it may almost be said that the hand of every other religious community was against them. They only saved themselves from the worst of persecution by that course of non-resistance, or at all events passive resistance, which their religious principles prescribed for them. It was hardly possible, even in the roughest days of the controversy, to keep inflicting bodily punishment on men who were pledged never to defend themselves by force of arms. The Quakers carried out the principles of Christianity according to their own definition of those principles with a rigid fidelity which might often have put the disciples of other Christian sects to shame. They strove with undismayed perseverance to maintain peace amongst men, to treat all men as their equals and their brothers where justice had to be administered, and where charity could find work to do. The story of Penn's life belongs to earlier days than those of Queen Anne. His best work had been done and his fame as a philanthropist had been secured before the opportunity came for him to intervene on behalf of Daniel Defoe, in the futile hope of saving him from the ignominy which, after all, only inflicted disgrace upon the age, and could not inflict any dishonour on Defoe. There is, however, a peculiar fitness in the historical chance which associates, in such a manner, the names of Daniel Defoe and William Penn.

JUSTIN MCCARTHY, *The Reign of Queen Anne*, pp. 191-195.

1698 21 July. Peter Peacocke of Northwich, cobbler, a quaker, was buried at Whitley.

1705 (Among the burials). M^d. a [blank] child of Benjamin Claridge, quaker, was born the 5th of August, but I do not know whether still-born or no. He is worth £50 per annum.

1713. 28 Sept. John, son of Joseph Kennerley, of Lostock Gralam, quaker, baptized.

From the Registers of Witton (Northwich). Sent by John Brownbill, M.A.

Our meetings will mean nothing if they cost nothing.

GEORGE A. WALTON, *The Quaker of the Future Time*, 1916.

Friends and Current Literature

WE have to express our regret for a paragraph in connection with George H. Braithwaite and *The Society of Friends and War*, which appeared in our last issue. The non-attendance at Meeting referred to is stated to arise entirely through mission work carried on by G. H. Braithwaite, which precludes attendance at the nearest Meeting, where he and his work are well known, whilst his views on war are those held by a number of Friends at the present time. We regret the pain and annoyance caused by the insertion of the paragraph, and trust that this statement will remove any wrong impression conveyed by it.

The Christian Patriot, by Norman M. Thomas, 1917.

"The Young Friends' Movement of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting" has presented to the Reference Library a copy of the third of "The William Penn Lectures" under the title of "The Christian Patriot," by Norman M. Thomas, Pastor of the American Parish, New York City. The lecture was delivered on the 12th of Fifth Month last at Fifteenth and Race Streets, Philadelphia.

Entering upon "an examination of true Christian patriotism" in the lurid light of the present conflict, we see the opposition of the method of Jesus to that of the world. We have in effect, says Norman M. Thomas, developed and justified the law of the jungle in our law of social life, modified it is true to some extent "by law, by custom and by love." In our "practical denial of brotherhood are buried the roots of war," and the inevitable result is "an un-Christian civilisation which daily crucifies Christ afresh." Whilst recognising the difference between wars for liberty and wars of aggression, and admitting the heroism of the battlefield, the lecturer points to the methods of war as inevitably destructive of personality in the "supreme worth" of which we believe. Not as an "absolute non-resistant" but as a believer in physical force on occasion, he looks to the "ultimate hope of the world" in the "awakening in the heart of the people everywhere of a passion for democracy and brotherhood." The relation of the State to the individual is a problem that the Christian patriot must think out. We are debtors not merely to our country, but to humanity which endures whilst "nations are but creatures of a day." Regarding Bertrand Russell as "the most stimulating modern thinker on this subject" the lecturer frequently quotes from him.

To the Christian patriot, the problem of the protection of the individual by the State from exploitation is of the utmost importance. Conscription in America "means the triumph of a false and dangerous idea of the State." Whilst struggling to maintain our liberties and safeguards, what service can we render to mankind? The Christian cannot afford to be called a "slacker." There is a patriotism of "saving life, of organising goodwill" called for both in peace and war, and each must

find his allotted task. "Let us press forward" dedicating "ourselves to truth as God gives us to see the truth." Such is the brief outline of the argument.

ISAAC SHARP.

Ackworth Games and the Men who made them is a quarto volume of eighty pages, richly illustrated, compiled and edited by Samuel Atkinson (to be obtained from Editor, 41, King Street, Covent Garden, London, W.C.2., price 5s.). The frontispiece represents Frederick Andrews at the wicket; this can be obtained separately for half-a-crown. F. Andrews has completed forty years of headmastership.

From the report of the Associated Committee of Friends on Indian Affairs, of which Edward M. Wistar, of Philadelphia, is chairman, and Florence Trueblood Steere, of Haverford, is secretary, we learn that the work of Rayner W. Kelsey, Ph.D., on *Friends and the Indians*, is now complete and ready for the printer. R. W. K. has been engaged some six years in this work, and we have had the privilege of giving some assistance in the supply of materials. The book will contain about 300 pages.

Some historical data respecting Friends in Canada have been supplied in *A History of the Society of Friends of Lobo Township*, by Edgar M. Zavitz, a paper read at a meeting of the London and Middlesex Historical Society (Ont.). The first Monthly Meeting of Friends in Canada was established in 1799, Lobo Meeting was organised in 1857, the incomers being of the names Harris, Cutler, Marsh and Zavitz.

The Studio, for July 13th, contains an article on "The Paintings of Joseph Southall," with several reproductions in colour and black of his "tempera" paintings. Our Friend has kindly supplied us with a description of tempera and fresco work, which will interest our readers:

"TEMPERA AND FRESCO.—The Italian word 'tempera' means strictly any medium with which powdered colours are mixed or *tempered*, to make them into paints, but in course of time it became limited to the one medium—the yolk of egg—which we now call the tempera vehicle or medium.

"Yolk of egg is beaten up and strained through muslin and then diluted with an equal bulk of water. It is then ready to be ground up with powder colour. A *little* formalin may be added to preserve the egg—say two drops to a yolk. In painting water is used to dilute. Egg yolk contains thirty per cent. of oil and is remarkable as uniting oil and water, so that when dry it becomes oil paint—the water having evaporated. This oil does not thicken and darken as do all the vegetable oils. Hence tempera pictures of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are more brilliant than oil pictures of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

"Fresco painting is done on freshly laid plaster each day, piece by piece. There is no medium but water, but the lime in the plaster holds the colours firmly to the wall. Each piece must be finished in the day.

"JOSEPH SOUTHALL, Birmingham."

Henry Bryan Binns has brought out a new volume of verses, entitled *November: Poems in War Time* (London: Fifield, 7½ by 5½, pp. 96, 3s. net). One piece is headed "The Quaker Women."

The *Friends' Quarterly Examiner* for Seventh Month is a valuable and readable issue. J. J. Green continues his article on Stephen Robson (1741-1779) and his botanical work, and L. Violet Hodgkin retells (for adults only) the strange seventeenth century story of James Dickinson and Jane Fearon, under the title "Seek 'em, Keeper." Other articles take us to Russia, Corsica, and Australia and introduce us to matters Quakerly, educational and piscatorial.

The Perpetual Prayer Calendar, issued by the Friends' Prayer League, can now be obtained in book form (London: Oliphants, 7½ by 5, pp. 152, 1s. net).

* In the *Des Moines (Iowa) Register and Leader* for April 14th, 1917, there is an article on the History of the American Flag, and in the issue for May 27 appears "Hoover of Iowa—A World Figure."

* At the tenth annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Society, held at Chicago in April, 1917, the presidential address was made by our Friend, Frederic L. Paxson, on *The Rise of Sports, 1876-1893*.

The series of articles on Noted Quakers and Quakeresses is being continued at frequent intervals in *The Newcastle Weekly Chronicle*. The life of Elizabeth Fry is at present under review.

The Earlham College Bulletin (Richmond, Ind.), vol. xiv., no. 3, July 1917, announces that President Robert Lincoln Kelly has quitted his position at the College in order to become executive secretary of the Council of Church Boards of Education, united with the Association of American Colleges. His address is 19 South La Salle Street, Chicago, Ill. Dr. Kelly's place at Earlham is to be taken by David Morton Edwards, President of Penn College. Words of appreciation of the work of the retiring President (1903-1917) were spoken at Commencement by Hon. William Dudley Foulke, of Richmond—Attorney, Scholar, Statesman and Quaker.

Headley Brothers, Publishers, Ltd., of Kingsway House, London, W.C.2. have issued a catalogue—*Kingsway House Announcements for Autumn, 1917, and Notes on New Books*. Among these interesting *Announcements* is that of the series of books for children, including "An Admiral's Son and how he founded Pennsylvania," and "The Prisoners' Friends." The publications of Kingsway House are supplied by Friends' Bookshop, 140, Bishopsgate, London, E.C.2.

* = Not in D.

* Articles from the facile and busy pen of Rufus M. Jones appear from time to time in *The Independent Methodist* (London: 44, Fleet Street, E.C.4 monthly, one penny).

Lectures by "prominent representatives of eight large Protestant Communions" were delivered during the winters of 1914-15 and 1915-16 at King's Chapel, Boston, Mass. These have now been published under the general title, *The Religious History of New England* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press; London: Oxford University Press, 9½ by 6½, pp. 356, \$2.50 net. May be obtained from Friends' Bookshop, London). The eight bodies are Congregationalists, Unitarians, Baptists, Quakers, Episcopalians, Methodists, Universalists and Swedenborgians. A Lecturer on Roman Catholicism could not be obtained. The Quaker portion—twenty-three pages—has been done by Rufus M. Jones. It is a valuable recital of some of the principles of Quakerism, but quite disappointing in relation to the other lectures, seeing that there is no attempt to pourtray the history of the Society in New England.

The eighth annual *Report of the Japan Book and Tract Society* for 1916 is to hand. Our Friend, George Braithwaite, is agent, secretary and manager, and his address is 3 Yuraku Cho Nichome, Kojimachi, Tokyo.

A new edition, the third, of *A History of Jordans*, by Anna L. Littleboy, has recently appeared (London: Friends' Bookshop, 140, Bishopsgate, price sixpence, seven illustrations and a route-map).

With the assistance of a trust fund, the Library Committee has purchased from the owners of *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, per Dr. Jordan of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, a file of this valuable historical record. The forty published volumes await safe transportation across the Atlantic, but the four issues of the current year have arrived. The special interest to Friends in these is the "Journal of Samuel Rowland Fisher" (1745-1834), of Philadelphia, in prison in that city 1779-1781, during the disturbed times of the Revolution, for alleged communication with the British. (Published quarterly, for sale at 1300 Locust Street, Philadelphia, 75 cts. per number or \$3.00 per year.)

Light on the Future, being Extracts from the Note Book of a Member of the Society for Psychical Research, Dublin. These spirit-communications, obtained first by table tiltings and later by the Ouija or alphabet board, were collected by our Friend, Thomas Henry Webb, of Dublin.

E.H.E. "There is worship here for those that love to worship."

Q.—"Would that suit old-fashioned Quakers?"

E.H.E. "Quakers are not old-fashioned when they come here, because they bring with them their pure, beautiful thoughts. That [their formalism] all drops from them and the good remains."

Man's Struggle for Freedom, or, The Slave in History (London: Religious Tract Society, 8 by 5, pp. 380, 2s. 6d. net) is an admirable

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The University of Chicago is a private, non-sectarian, research university. It was founded in 1837 and is one of the oldest and most prestigious universities in the United States. The university is known for its commitment to academic excellence and its diverse student body. It is a member of the Association of American Universities and the Ivy League.

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publication, got up in very attractive style. It is a reprint—having been first published under the second title. There is a chapter on Woolman and another, entitled, "The Quakers' Protest."

* Mrs. Humphry Ward has a sympathetic reference to Friends' War Victims work in her *Towards the Goal* (London: Murray, 7½ by 5, pp. xvi. + 246, 2s. 6d. net).

Benjamin F. Trueblood, Prophet of Peace, 1847-1916, is a brief record of the life of the Quaker secretary of the American Peace Society (New York: Friends' Book and Tract Committee).

L'Eclaireur de la Mission, the organ of the Friends' War Victims work in France, is received in D. and can be seen by any interested in reconstruction by Quaker hands.

Our Friend, Thomas Parsons Cooper, of York, has again placed the antiquarian world under obligation by another volume of local history—*Literary Associations of the City of York. Some Shrines, Haunts and Memories* (York: Gazette Co., 10 by 6½, pp. 32, nineteen illustrations, price one shilling). The attention of the Friendly reader will be specially drawn to the view of the old Burial Ground where the remains of John Woolman (1720-1772) were laid to rest and those of other well-known Friends. There are notices also of Lindley Murray (1745-1826), John S. Rowntree (1834-1907), Lord Mayor in 1888, Henry Tuke (1755-1814), and William Alexander (1768-1841), the bookseller, publisher and author, and also reference to Robert Spence (-1824) and Alderman Thomas Wilson, who were members of a well-known firm of printers and publishers, the names appearing on the title pages of the educational works of Lindley Murray.

The volume referred to on a previous page is now out—*The Prisoners' Friends*, by Constance Wakeford, (London: Headley, 7½ by 5, pp. 154, with twelve illustrations by George Soper, half-a-crown net). This contains the stories of John Howard (1726-1790), Sarah Martin (-1843), of Yarmouth, in Norfolk, and Elizabeth Fry (1780-1845), pleasantly and simply told, and closes with "The Story of a Book" (Charles Reade's "It's Never too late to Mend") and an account of "The Little Commonwealth" of boys and girls in Dorsetshire.

"*I Appeal unto Cæsar*," by Mrs. Henry Hobhouse (London: Allen and Unwin, 7½ by 4½, pp. xxii. + 86, price one shilling). This book presents the case of the Conscientious Objector, and contains the record of the imprisonment of the following Friends—Maurice L. Rowntree, Stephen Hobhouse (son of the Compiler), George A. Sutherland, T. Corder Catchpool, Oswald Clark, Douglas R. Bishop, Eric P. Southall, Malcolm Sparkes, Hubert W. Peet and Roderic K. Clark.

Recent Accessions to D

IN addition to the unstarred literature introduced under the heading "Friends and Current Literature," the following items have been added to D during the last few months :

Physical Remedies for Disabled Soldiers, by R. Fortescue Fox, M.D. London, 1917, 277 pages and many illustrations. Presented by the Author. Our Friend is hon. medical director of the Red Cross clinic for the physical treatment of disabled soldiers.

Colouration in Animals and Plants, by Alfred Tylor, F.G.S., 1886, 105 pages, and beautiful coloured and other illustrations drawn by Mrs. Skertchly and printed by Alabaster, Passmore and Sons. Presented by the niece of the Writer, Juliet M. Morse, a London Friend.

Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave, Dublin, 1845, edited by Richard D. Webb, secretary of the Hibernian Anti-Slavery Society. A valued possession of the nephew of the Editor, Thomas Henry Webb, of Dublin, but presented by him to D.

Documents relating to the Colonial History of the State of New Jersey, vol. xxviii., edited by the late William Nelson (Paterson, N.J., pp. 648), 1916. There are some quakeriana to be found in the pages of this volume—an account of the interment of Elizabeth Smith of Burlington, a Minister who died in 1772, aged about forty-eight, and of Elizabeth Cowgill, of the same, aged fifty-three, and references to other Friends and to Meeting Houses.

Word Book of the English Tongue, by C. L. D. (London : Routledge, 6½ by 4, pp. viii. + 216, 1s. 6d. net). This is an attempt to clear away from the language many of the Normanisms ("loan-words") which have crept in and to suggest good, sound Englishisms. For instance, we must not say "kaleidoscopic" but "rainbow-hued"; we must not even say "safe" but "harmless," "scatheless," etc. "Puritan" must go and be replaced by "goody-goody" as an adjective—(pardon ! as a "mark-word") and "mar-gee" as a noun (or "thing-word"); and "January" must be "first month."

Anthony Morse, Puritan, 1555-1604, by Roland G. Usher, in *Washington University Studies*, St. Louis, Mo., vol. i., pt. ii., no. 2, April, 1914, presented by Mrs. Sydney Morse.

The Railways and the State, by Frederic W. Pim, of Blackrock, Co. Dublin, chairman of the Dublin and South-Eastern Railway and vice-president of the Dublin Chamber of Commerce, and a member of Monkstown Meeting. Presented by the Author. (London : Unwin, pp. 302, 5s. net.) This book can still be bought, and the subject treated

therein—purchase or permanent State control of the railways of both countries—will come forward for discussion after the war, when the book will doubtless be of service.

Anthropological Essays presented to Edward Burnett Tylor, in honour of his seventy-fifth birthday, Oct. 2nd, 1907, with an introductory biography by Andrew Lang and a bibliography by Barbara W. Freire-Marreco, of Oxford. A handsome volume of 416 pages, presented by Juliet M. Morse, niece of Sir E. B. Tylor.

Edward Burnett Tylor, F.R.S. (1832-1917), was a son of Joseph and Harriet Tylor, of Camberwell, members of Peel M.M. He was educated at Grove House School, Tottenham. In 1858 he married Anna Rebecca, daughter of Sylvanus Fox, of Wellington. In 1864 E. B. and A. R. Tylor resigned their membership in the Society of Friends. E. B. Tylor was knighted in 1912.

Plus que Vanqueur! by Arthur S. Booth-Clibborn, pp. 334, Paris, 1896. Presented by J. Henry Quinn.

A volume of ancient tracts has been recently purchased by our Friend, Frederick Merttens, of Rugby, and presented to D. The most valuable item is a copy of that very rare pamphlet *Canons and Institutions drawn up and agreed upon by the General Assembly or Meeting of the Heads of the Quakers from all parts of the Kingdom, at their New-Theatre in Grace-church-street on or about January 1668-9. George Fox being their President*: London, Printed Anno Dom. 1669. This is a print of the paper by G. Fox, commencing "Friends Fellowship must be in the Spirit," with an introduction by an unsympathetic hand. It is fully described in the *Camb. Jnl.* (ii. 416).

Martha Schofield, Pioneer Negro Educator—Historical and philosophical Review of Reconstruction Period of South Carolina. By Matilda A. Evans, M.D., graduate Schofield School. Columbia, S.C., 1916, 126 pages, with portrait. Martha Schofield (1839-1916) was born in Bucks Co., Pa., her parents being members of the Society of Friends. Her work on behalf of the negroes in the South began in 1865. The centre of her work was Aiken, S.C. She died on the fiftieth anniversary of this work. See also *Friends' Intelligencer*, 1916, pp. 117, 289.

The work of M. Schofield was continued by Sarah J. Taylor. The present principal of Schofield School is S. Louisa Haight.

The Library has received a valuable accession, by the kindness of Henry Tuke Mennell, of a copy of *Memoirs of Samuel Tuke, with Notices of some of his Ancestors and Descendants*, printed privately in two volumes in 1860. It is one of only twenty-six copies issued, and was in the possession of Daniel Hack Tuke.

Betsy Ross and Lydia Darragh

(See xiv. 122, 128, 139)

HORACE M. LIPPINCOTT, of Philadelphia, has favoured us with a letter respecting the persons above-mentioned, who are also referred to in his attractive book, *A Portraiture of the People called Quakers*. Our Friend holds to the opinion that the incidents connected with these two women are historical. He writes: "The Betsy Ross tradition is a strong one in her family . . . and is of great age"; he encloses a copy of a letter from a descendant of Betsy, who states: "We do believe that she made the first flag after being waited upon by a committee from Congress. We only claim that she suggested how the five-pointed star could be cut quickly—with one clip of the scissors . . . and yet have no documentary proof to show."

What has the new edition of Preble's *Origin and History of the American Flag*, to say about Betsy Ross?

With regard to Lydia Darragh, H. M. Lippincott sends an offprint from a publication of the City Historical Society of Philadelphia, containing an address on *Lydia Darragh, one of the Heroines of the Revolution*, 1915, which presents a statement in favor of the historicity of the narrative.

The Family of Flounders

NUMEROUS members of this Quaker family resided in the county of Durham and in N.E. and N.W. Yorkshire. Births are recorded from 1672 within Richmond and Guisbrough Monthly Meetings, and somewhat later in York M.M., and later still at Ripon and Huddersfield. Of the seven children (born 1672-1684) of John and Katherine

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Flounders of Kirklington (Richmond M.M.), four died in infancy and one before reaching ten years, and in other branches of the family infant mortality was also great.

Benjamin and Barbara Flounders, of Crathorne, Yorks, had a son, Jonathan (c. 1743-1785), who married Ann Lotherington (c. 1741-1811) (Pickering M.M.) in 1770. He was a distiller in Manchester. Jonathan and Ann Flounders had seven children, the youngest being Jonathan (1780-1840), who was a commission agent in Liverpool and married Mary Waterhouse (c. 1791-1874) in that city in 1817. Jonathan and Mary were Elders in their Meeting. The former is said by Joseph Smith (*Cata.* i. 620) to be the author of two anonymous pamphlets, *The Christian Doctrine of the Holy Spirit*, 1814, and *Some Observations on the Gospel Ministry of Women*, 1822.

But the Flounders name is known best in connection with the Flounders Institute at Ackworth for the training of young men as teachers in the schools or families of Friends.

Benjamin Flounders (1768-1846), of Yarm, Yorkshire, who founded the Institute, by deed, dated 25th November, 1845, was the son of John and Mary (Bickerdike) Flounders, residing at Crathorne, Bleachfield, near Yarm. The account of the Institute which appears in the *Biographical Catalogue of London Friends' Institute*, states that the youthful Benjamin was educated at Ackworth School, but the secretary of the School asserts that he does not appear to have ever been a scholar there. He married, firstly, in 1800, Mary, daughter of John and Mary Walker, of North Shields, after whose death in 1803, aged twenty-eight, one day after an infant daughter, leaving him with one child, Mary, born 1801, he married Hannah, daughter of William Chapman, of Whitby, by whom he had one child, John, who died a few weeks before his mother, in 1814.

On the death, in 1844, of his daughter Mary, who had married and become Lowe, he was left without descendants and in feeble health. At this time he was visited by his old schoolfellow and friend, Edward Pease, of Darlington (1767-1858), to whom he confided his condition, and to whom he showed a letter from his maternal

uncle, Gideon Bickerdike (c. 1747-1810), of Staines, Middlesex, respecting the disposal of property bequeathed to his nephew with the desire that in the case of the nephew's death without family, it might be devoted to the interests of the Society of Friends. Thus there came into the hands of trustees the sum of forty thousand pounds to be devoted to education. J. J. Gurney gave £500 to purchase the land at Ackworth and the Flounders Institute for the training of teachers in the Society of Friends was opened in 1848.

In *The Diaries of Edward Pease*, 1907, we have some intimate references to Benjamin Flounders. It appears that the proposed disposition of his uncle's estate nearly failed of going into effect owing to the ill-health of the legatee. When recording his death (19 iv. 1846), E. Pease describes him as "once an overscrupulous member of the Society of Friends," and on the occasion of a visit to Ackworth he writes: "I shall ever retain an especial interest about this establishment, which had its unexpected foundation from an apparently unexpected result, viz., my call of condolence to B. Flounders on the death of his daughter."

Benjamin Flounders was a J.P. for co. Durham, N.R. Yorks, and co. Salop (the Bickerdike, and, later, Flounders estate was at Culmington, near Ludlow, in this county). He and one other were the only two of all the landed gentry of co. Durham who were not opposed to the introduction of the railway (*Diaries of Edward Pease*, p. 98).

It is curious that in all cases noted, save the *Copy of Benjamin Flounders' Trust Deed*, 1874, the "uncle" is referred to without name.

The Flounders Institute was opened in 1848, the building having cost £4,800, and it accommodated twelve resident students. The eight foundation trustees were John Pease, Joseph Pease, James Backhouse, John Church Backhouse, Samuel Tuke, Joseph Rowntree, Joseph John Gurney and Joseph Gurney Barclay. Isaac Brown was the first principal, and he was succeeded in 1870 by William Scarnell Lean, M.A.

In 1894, with the object of offering the advantages of a resident course of study at a University College, the

Ackworth premises were given up, and the Institution made its home in Leeds, the students attending the Yorkshire College, which became the University of Leeds in 1904.

William S. Lean retired from the principalship in 1899 and was succeeded by Francis Henry Brown, M.A., a nephew of the first principal, and a former student at the Institute.

After fifteen years in Leeds, another change was made in the administration of the Trust. A new scheme was sanctioned by the Board of Education permitting students to reside outside the limits of the county of York. This allows a wide freedom of choice as to the University which might best suit the needs of individual students. The common residence was given up, and the income devoted to providing "exhibitions" to enable students to meet the expense of a University course. The number of students assisted in any year is no longer dependent on the accommodation provided at a common hostel.

"Though to study the Scriptures for the sake of using them in preaching could not befit our principles, yet I am increasingly persuaded, that by the mind being attentively fixed upon their sacred contents oftener than the day, a store of gold is obtained, ready to be coined at the King's command."

Letter from Hannah Chapman Backhouse, 1841, printed in her *Journal and Letters*.

"My prison shall be my grave before I will budge a jot; for I owe my conscience to no mortal man. I have no need for fear. God will make amends for all."—WILLIAM PENN, in the Tower of London, 1668.

Quoted in *William Penn*, by J. W. Graham, 1917.

"The foundation principle of the Society of Friends is a belief in the universal and direct revelation of God to every human being, and the object of the Society is to awaken everyone to a consciousness that God speaks to him directly without any intermediary."

HORACE MATHER LIPPINCOTT, see *Friends' Intelligencer*, 31 iii. 1917.

Notes and Queries

KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

D.—Friends' Reference Library, Devonshire House, 136, Bishopsgate, London, E.C.2.

Camb. *Jnl.*—*The Journal of George Fox*, published by the Cambridge University Press, 1911.

D.N.B.—*The Dictionary of National Biography*.

F.Q.E.—*Friends' Quarterly Examiner*.

M.M.—Monthly Meeting.

Q.M.—Quarterly Meeting.

Y.M.—Yearly Meeting.

UNDERGROUND RAIL ROAD.—

"I will take the liberty to mention one circumstance, as near as I now remember, without again consulting my generous and ingenious friend, G. W. Hull, then living in Delaware county, O. The occasion was this: A company of runaway men, women and children were directed to his care, with information that their pursuers were near at hand, and on learning the fact, he took them to the barn and, removing some of the underpinning stones, had his visitors placed under the floor, with strict orders to observe the most profound silence, and ordered his men to throw down a flooring of grain and place the horses immediately upon it, with orders to keep them moving, and not to be sparing of noise.

"After the arrangement was in good order their masters, or their agents, arrived and demanded to know the place of their concealment. They were told that if such a thing existed they must find that out for themselves. Meanwhile the horses were kept moving and no little noise made by the hands thus employed. The slave hunters were sure that they were about the barn, and after diligent

search they went away and concealed themselves in order to watch the movements of the workhands at the barn, thinking they were not seen themselves. Immediately a wagon and horses were placed at the barn, with quilts and other equipments much like as if the fugitives were to be conveyed to some other place.

"When ready to leave, the driver was directed to move off quietly in a southerly direction, and, if they pursued him, to let them come within reasonable distance, and then apply the whip to the horses, as if fearful of being overtaken, which was strictly observed by the driver. They pursued, as was expected, and were taken far away from the object of their search. Another team was in readiness, which conveyed the visitors to another distant underground station, from whence they escaped to Canada."

From *Reminiscences of Joseph Morris*, Ohio, 1881, p. 181.

THE END OF GRACECHURCH STREET MEETING HOUSE, 1862.—John L. Eddy (1798-1867), of America, writes in his *Journal*:

"Fourth day, 28th of 5th mo. 1862. This morning was devoted to worship in the several meeting-houses of London and I went to the old Grace Church street meeting-house, in White Hart Court, where George Fox preached his last sermon. The situation of Friends in the city is such that they no longer need this house, and they have sold it,¹ and do not again intend to hold meetings there. . . . I told Friends I hoped our minds might be so affected on the present occasion, that we may never forget the last meeting held in Grace Church meeting-house."

Memoir of John L. Eddy, 1875, p. 142.

Benjamin Seebohm was also largely engaged in the ministry on this memorable occasion.

YEARLY MEETING, 1825 (xiv. 101).—Interesting corroboration of the account of this Y.M., given in our last number, and written by J. H. Bowen, comes from the pen of John Grubb (1766-1841), in a letter to his brother, Joseph Grubb (Benj.), of Clonmel, Ireland, dated from Chelmsford, 30th of 5th mo.:

"The Meeting was large, but as is usual in London it was much larger the second Week. The whole of one sitting & the greater part of two others were occupied about Negroe Slavery & what is called African Instruction, or, as some would say, 'Hannah Kilham's plan.'

¹ The freeholders were the Fishmongers' Company. The Company gave Friends £6,000 for their interest. For a short time the building was occupied by the banking firm of Barclay, Bevan, Tritton & Co.

The former had long been recognized by the Yearly Meeting, the latter not at all. . . . The Meeting on African Instruction was held after the Yearly Meeting—the great Meeting House nearly filled. W^m Allen & Hannah Kilham were, I suppose, two of the principal Speakers.

"There was an unusual number of Visits paid by Men friends to the Women's Meeting this year. I was not of the Number. The following were some of them, viz., J. J. Gurney & W^m Allen—Richard Phillips & Sylvanus Fox, Edw^d Carroll & James Marriage. . . . Sam^l Fox, brother to Sylvanus, proposed to go, but as he is not yet recorded as a Minister, it was thought premature, and W^m Alexander asked leave to go, but as he is an Elder, the Meeting hesitated, but a young Man named Weatherall from Yorkshire, a Minister, proposing to go, W. A. was sent with him as an Elder, so the end seemed answered.

"Martha Smith² and my Sally³

² This was doubtless Martha Smith of Doncaster (1763-1832) *née* Ecroyd, of Edgend in Marsden, wife of William Smith, of Doncaster. She was a Minister for forty-two years.

See testimony of Balby M.M.; *Annals of Smith of Cautley, 1878*; *Memorials of Friends*, by S. Corder, 1845; etc.

³ Wife of the writer—Sarah Grubb, *née* Lynes (1773-1842), a Minister for fifty-two years. After some time at the Friends' School, Clerkenwell, she went to Ireland and lived nearly ten years in the family of a Friend at Clonmel. She married John Grubb in 1803, at Isleworth, near London. Towards the close of the meeting at the wedding she

paid, I think, a very extraordinary visit to the Men's Meeting. M. S. looks very badly, she speaks sitting, with her head leaning back, resting on a cushion. She seems full of Love & very beautiful in the exercise of her Gift. . . . The [Fry-Gurney] meeting was very large—some hundreds I believe, went away for want of room.

"In the last sitting we were informed that a Woman friend wished to sit with Men friends near the Close of their Meeting. After some consideration this was agreed to, and my Sally was introduced, when after a time of solemn silence, she had a very extraordinary testimony to deliver. She soon after left the Meeting & nothing further took place, but the Clerk in a solemn manner reading the concluding Minute, when after a time of silence that could be almost felt, we separated."

J. H. Bowen's account does not present quite the same feeling regarding the last sitting. John Grubb adds:

"I think I heard there were 30 friends from Ireland in London."

In the same letter occurs the very interesting statement:

"I understand that Betsy Dudley has made £300 by the

left her husband, went up into the gallery, addressed the company, sat down for a short time in the gallery, and then returned to her seat by her husband. After fifteen years residence in Ireland, J. and S. Grubb removed to Bury in Suffolk and later nearer to London. There are numerous records of her striking ministry.

publication of the Life of her Mother."⁴

Information from J. Ernest Grubb, of Carrick-on-Suir.

CHRISTIANA RIOTS, 1851 (xiv. 55).—See *A True Story of the Christiana Riots*, by David R. Forbes, Quarryville, Pa., 1898, dedicated to the Society of Friends. Copy in D.

ABRAHAM BEALE, 1793-1847.—Abraham Beale, iron merchant,⁵ son of Thomas Beale and Elizabeth Abell, was born in Cork, Eighth Month 16th, 1793, and died at Patricks Quay, Cork, Eighth Month 22nd, 1847. He was a brother of Mary Beale (1799-1870) and Sarah Beale (1800-1885). He was one of the many members of our Society in Ireland who devoted time and property to alleviate the bitter sufferings of famine and disease which followed the failure of the potato crop 1845-1847 (see biographical notice in *Annual Monitor*, 1848), and he gave his life for his fellows, dying of famine fever contracted in his work.

Hymns by him are to be found printed in *The Annual Monitor*, 1848, and in Martha Braithwaite's *Fireside Hymn Book*, 1865, and in a manuscript, in D.

Information from J. Ernest Grubb, of Carrick-on-Suir.

⁴ *The Life of Mary Dudley* (1750-1823) edited by Elizabeth Dudley (1779-1849) printed for the Editor in 1825, 380 pages.

⁵ The firm was Abraham Beale & Co., later Beale, Scott, & Co., and now Sir Robert Scott & Co.; one of the Scotts is named Abraham Beale Scott.

BARTON ON THE HEATH (WARWICKSHIRE) REGISTERS.—Baptisms. "1698, Apl. 3. Richard y^e son of Edward Deen (a Quaker) nigh two years old."

"1714, Sept. 19. Jane Dun, an Orphan, born of Parents that were Quakers."

Information from Richard Savage, Stratford-on-Avon.

MONUMENTAL INSCRIPTION.—

In a long inscription to one of the Blake family in the churchyard at Nether Stowey, Somerset, occurs the couplet:

"Better in reverential awe to sit,
And, Quakerlike, in silence view
the pit."

Copied by John Morland, 1917.

LONDON AND MIDDLESEX Q.M., 1831.—The following is copied from a letter from John Grubb, husband of Sarah (Lynes) Grubb (1773-1842), to his brother, Joseph Grubb (Benjamin), of Clonmel, dated from Stoke Newington, 29th of Ninth Month, 1831 (in the possession of J. Ernest Grubb, of Carrick-on-Suir):

"Our Q.M. was held last 3rd day, the Select Meeting the day before. The Q.M. was very large.

... We had the company of Stephen Grellet and Christopher Healy—also Nich. Naftel⁶ and old

⁶ Nicholas Naftel (c. 1762-1842) lived in the Island of Guernsey in early life. He married Mary Higman (1756-1820) of St. Austell, in 1789, and in 1804 they quitted Guernsey and resided successively at Colchester, Southwark and Chelmsford. Mary Naftel travelled much in the ministry and spent two years visiting Friends in North America, beginning in the year 1816. Nicholas was also a Minister. After his wife's death, he returned to his island-home and died there.

W^m Rickman. S. Grellet had a good deal to say in the Select Meeting. Cornelius⁷ was silent. In the Meeting for Worship on 3rd day, after a considerable time of silence, Sally stood up & had a very extraordinary testimony to deliver. I think the Members of this Q. Meet^g must surely feel the force of such a warning & arousing testimony. Tho^s Shillitoe followed at considerable length, and then Stephen Grellet, who, in the course of his testimony, expressed his cordial unity with first (Sally's) testimony. Sally followed in supplication. Christopher Healy was silent. That meeting held about 2 hours & half. The Meeting for Discipline concluded about $\frac{1}{2}$ past 3 o'clock. S. Grellet & W. Allen paid a long Visit to the Womens Meeting. Christopher Healy spoke once, in a very impressive manner on the neglect of attending Week-day meetings. I liked his manner & language very much. His services seem to be much more with those of other Societies than in our own—he frequently has two public meetings in the day, several miles apart, and where there are friends, will have all meet together, without having a separate meeting for each. He is very diligent & anxious to get through his Work—need we wonder at this when he has left

Of their children, two sons and their daughter Mary emigrated, but one son was lost at sea. Mary died in Philadelphia in 1827.

⁷ This is probably a slip of the pen for Christopher. J. Grubb's mind may have been running on Cornelius Hanbury.

17 Children behind—what a number! He is, I suppose, a very poor farmer, and I heard as if he said in one meeting that his family has sometimes been in want of a Meal of Bread."

In another letter, the same to the same, dated a month later, John Grubb writes:

"I have no reason to think I was mistaken in what I mentioned respecting what I heard Christopher Healy said at a public meeting at Croydon, as to the poor condition he was once in. I did not suppose he said that was his condition at present. He has a remarkably forcible, impressive & moving manner of speaking, tho' not always in the strict rules of *Grammar*. . . .⁸ It was rather amusing, the evening of the public meeting [at Stoke Newington]; I was in company with Christopher, he asked the friends present, If Sarah Grubb was a married Woman—it caused a general smile, & a friend pointed to me, saying that was her husband. He said he thought she was a *single* Woman, daughter of Sarah Grubb, whose Journal we have."

⁸ A Memoir of Christopher Healy (1773-1851) was published in Philadelphia in 1886. From this we obtain glimpses of his family life. In 1793, he married Elizabeth Sheffield, who died in 1813 during his absence from home; her "so large a family of little ones" is mentioned in 1812. At her death he was left with ten children under seventeen years of age, but apparently they were placed under others' care while he lodged with friends. In 1814, he married Sarah Miller, and in 1820 he removed from the State of New York to Bucks Co., Pa., with his wife and second family of

ERRATA.—For Harvard, *Conn.* read Harvard, *Mass.*, xiv. 54.

For *Columbus College*, read *Columbia University, New York*, xiv. 79.

For 1817, read 1877, xiv. 134.

"THE FRIEND."—In *William Wordsworth, his Life, Works and Influence*, by Prof. George McLean Harper, of Princeton University, 1916, i. 362, there is a reference to a publication called "The Friend," which may have arrested the attention of some of our readers. As explained later in the above work (ii. 172, 173), "The Friend" was a venture of Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772-1834), undertaken against the advice of his friends, and ending in failure. It was published fortnightly, at Penrith, from August, 1809, to March, 1810, when, with the twenty-seventh number, dated 15th March, 1810, it expired.

See *D.N.B.*; Rawnsley's *English Lakes*.

"four small children," leaving his first family behind.

C. Healy wrote of his early life. "Was there ever a poorer Quaker than I was? . . . I remember that at one time my doctor's bill was so large that I had to hire myself out for eighteen months to get money enough to pay for it." He was a convinced Friend, and, as often happens, very conservative. He denounced "fast-days, the holding the office of special constable, and attendance of missionary meetings etc.," he once quoted the text "Strangers have devoured his strength and he knoweth it not" as applicable to "the dangers which attended Friends joining with persons of other religious denominations in associations for promoting benevolent objects."

MIRABEAU AND NANTUCKET FRIENDS.—“Mirabeau was elected president without opposition of the National Assembly on January 29th, 1791.

“During his presidential fortnight Mirabeau received various deputations—notably one from the Quakers—and replied to them in the happiest of brief speeches.”—*The Life of Mirabeau*, by S. G. Tallentyre, p. 322.

An account of the presentation of the “*Pétition Respectueuse des Amis de la Société Chrétienne appelés Quakers*” may be read in *Memorandum written by William Rotch (1734-1828)*, printed in 1916.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT.—*Febr. 10th, 1819*.—“Wilberforce made a speech last night which reminded one of the better days of the House of Commons. He presented a petition from the Quakers against the criminal Code, and introduced a compliment to Romilly.”—Greyville’s *Journal of the Reigns of George IV. and William IV.*, i., 16. 17.

In 1818, London Yearly Meeting “solidly considered the awful subject of the Punishment of Death, as now practised in this Empire,” and instructed the Meeting for Sufferings to address the Legislature on the subject. This was done and the petition, above presented, was the outcome. It expressed the “firm conviction that the frequency of this Punishment, extended as it is to crimes of very different degrees of guilt, is repugnant to the . . . Christian Religion. . . .” The petition was “ordered to be printed in the Appendix to the Votes.”

In 1819, there were 180 crimes punishable by death, but from 1838 the death-sentence in civil cases was executed practically for murder only. There are numerous references to the work of Friends in the card-catalogue in D.

DICKINSON—FEARON EPISODE.—The adventures of James Dickinson (1659-1741) and Jane Fearon (1675-1737), so vividly told by L. V. Hodgkin, in *F.Q.E.*, vol. 51, have appeared, in various forms, in the following books:

The Annual Monitor for 1816 (the Sarah Taylor version); Young’s *Monumental Pillars*, 1818—“The Quakers Guided and Protected”; Comly’s *Miscellany*, vol. 5, 1834; Armistead’s *Select Miscellanies*, vol. 5, 1851; *F.Q.E.* 1873 and *Annals of the Early Friends*, both by Frances Anne Budge. The incident is introduced into *For a Free Conscience*, by Lydia Cope Wood, 1906, p. 46. A discussion of the place is to be found in *The British Friend*, 1887, p. 303, 1888, pp. 20, 90, 196, and *The Friend* (London), 1887, pp. 91, 105.

FRIENDS BURIED ON THEIR OWN LANDS.—The Wheeler family (from whom W.B. is descended through the Cadburys) lived for many generations on a small estate at Cranfield, Bedfordshire (near Hitchin). Here they had their own private burying ground in which they were interred. Joshua W. (born 1635) was in Bedford Gaol with John Bunyan. The estate now belongs to the Seebohms, of Hitchin, their descendants.—WALTER BARROW.

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